

THE MONTH

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The Report of the Ritual Commission.

IT is over two years since a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the Ritualistic practices so extensively introduced into the Church of England services during recent years. It was appointed in response to the solicitations of Mr. Austin Taylor and other representative ultra-Protestants, and according to its terms of reference it was

to inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of divine service in the Church of England, and to the ornaments and fittings of churches; and to consider the existing powers and procedure applicable to such irregularities and to make such recommendations as may be deemed requisite for dealing with the aforesaid matters.

The Report of this Commission, which has at last appeared, is unlikely to be found acceptable by either of the extreme sections of the Anglican Church. To the ultra-Protestants who asked for it it will read like the words of Balaam, the son of Beor, blessing where it was invoked to curse, whilst to the ultra-Ritualists it will appear to single them out as the scape-goats to be sacrificed for the sake of the rest. On the other hand, to the main bulk of the Anglican body, which lies between these extreme sections and includes the mass alike of its High Church and its Low Church parties, it is probable that, in proportion as this Report comes to be understood, it will be welcomed as casting an ægis round a sufficient variety of types of Anglican worship to meet the variety of types of Anglican mind, and effectually protecting them from the assaults of the extremists. And to attain this last-mentioned object would seem to have been the ambition which the Commissioners, chosen as they were from the moderates of all tendencies, had set before themselves. It is another question whether, as taking this novel course, the present Commission is likely to lead on to more effectual results than have rewarded

previous attempts of the same kind, but at all events there are points in its Report which give it a special interest, for it has not been content with a dry and cold interpretation of the existing Anglican statute law, but has endeavoured to probe deeper into the causes of the present situation.

The first part of the task of the Commissioners was to ascertain the facts, and here they were confronted with an initial difficulty. They could not hide from themselves that disregard of the written law of the Anglican Church was chargeable against both of the contending parties within its fold. If some sinned by excess, others sinned by defect, and if some in their excesses and defects approached too nearly to Rome, others approached too nearly to the methods of non-Episcopal Protestantism. On the other hand they could get no comprehensive evidence of irregularities other than those charged against the Ritualists, the only witnesses who responded to their invitation to appear before them being persons who had been engaged on hire, by a single Anglican clergyman and three ultra-Protestant societies, to go round the country after the manner of spies, and take note of practices displeasing to themselves in churches which it would not have occurred to them to attend for any purpose of worship. It looked, in short, as if the general body of Anglican worshippers experienced no grievance in the existing conditions, and desired no change; and at all events it placed the Commission in the unpleasant position of having to rely for the greater portion of its facts on the representations of a class of fanatics whom intelligent persons of all shades of thought in the country regard with contempt and aversion. The Commissioners seem to have been keenly sensible of this inconvenience.

In weighing the complaints [they say] we have thought it necessary to bear in mind the special circumstances under which the evidence was prepared and given. The witnesses were not in sympathy with the services they attended; and their object in attending them was to inquire as to the existence of irregularities such as those they subsequently reported. Further, in many cases it should be noted that a series of questions had been furnished them beforehand by the Church Association and the Joint Evidence Committee, which in substance were instructions as to the specific things which they were invited to observe.

However, the Commissioners very justly reflected that the facts reported were in a sufficiency of cases correct and undis-

puted, and that "it does not follow that irregularities in the services of a church should be passed over because no habitual worshippers complain," since,

not only have all parishioners a right to complain who might possibly attend if those services were differently conducted, but also the nation has a right to expect that in the National Church the services shall be conducted according to law.

Accordingly, they set courageously to work and collected a very instructive body of facts, arranged under the three general headings of Rites and Ceremonies, Ornaments of Ministers, and Ornaments of Churches. They also got from the Bishops some explanations throwing light on the reality of the difficulties which their Lordships have experienced in dealing with irregularities brought under their notice; and from Bishops and also from diocesan chancellors, lawyers of distinction, and prominent laymen, they received valuable information on the historical questions involved, together with various suggestions as to desirable remedies, some of them extremely drastic in character. One further class of representations laid before them they specially acknowledge as consisting of seven Memorials dealing with matters connected directly or indirectly with the subject of the inquiry.

These Memorials were apparently not much more than expressions of opinion and feeling, but they may have been useful to the Commissioners in enabling them to estimate the volume and direction of the various currents of feeling they had to take into account in their practical proposals. Thus in the first of these Memorials 2,519 clergymen, whose signatures were invited by the E.C.U., declared that the law imposes upon the clergy the obligation of observing the provisions of the Ornaments Rubric, especially as to the use of vestments, and that the signatories repudiated the competence of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to determine the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. In the second Memorial, which was presented by the Dean of Canterbury, the principle of an appeal to the first six centuries was recommended for the adoption of the Commission; but it must have been perplexing to it to find that opinions differed among the signatories as to the way in which it was to be understood, the Dean of Canterbury contending that it should be taken as exclusive only, that is as excluding whatever could not be shown to have

been generally accepted and observed during those centuries—he did not say whether this was to be applied to the Thirty-Nine Articles—but not as sanctioning all that was then generally accepted and observed; whilst the Dean of Christ Church deprecated “the universal application for all time of such a condition, as being inconsistent with the idea of development which is becoming now so important;” and 44 clergymen, led by the late Canon Garratt, in a third Memorial, stated their conviction that any such appeal to the first six centuries was “fraught with grave peril.” In a fourth Memorial, Bishop Welldon, on behalf of 72 laymen, opined that the use of the Athanasian Creed in public worship should be made optional, not compulsory. In a fifth, 86 dignitaries of the Church of England, 1,767 other clergy, 52 peers, baronets, and knights, 90 peeresses, 3,231 officers of the Army and Navy, and 4,254 women “deprecated the authorization of any distinct vestment for the minister in administering Holy Communion,” and stated that the signatories would “resist to the last any such authorization;” whilst in a sixth, 26 clergymen of the South Midland Protestant Union represented that “any legalized recognition, permissibly or otherwise, of a Mass vestment of whatever colour . . . would imply a legalized permission to hold and to teach the doctrine of the Mass.” The seventh Memorial was presented by 118 Manchester Churchwardens, and took a peculiarly churchwardenly view of the question, namely, that “it would be to the advantage of the Church if the approval of the vestry were required before the institution of any clergyman to any particular parish.”

On these materials the Commissioners based their deliberations, and they begin by stating what they conceive to be the present state of the law in regard to the conduct of services in the National Church. This law is altogether too complicated to permit of being stated here, but it may be said that all turns ultimately on the meaning of what is called the Ornaments Rubric as it has ever read in the present Anglican Prayer Book, from the time of its authorization by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. This Ornaments Rubric runs thus:

And here it is to be noted that such Ornaments of the Church and the Ministers thereof, at all times of their ministrations, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the Reign of Edward VI.

Now, does this prescription refer back to the usage prescribed by the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., or to that which existed antecedently to the introduction of the Prayer Book, and included practically the entire apparatus of rites and ceremonies and Church ornaments of the mediæval period? Inasmuch as the second year of Edward VI. ended on January 27, 1549 (N.S.), and the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. only passed out of Parliament five days previously (on January 22nd), and did not come into "use" till some months later, it would seem to a plain man clear beyond dispute that the usage anterior to the First Prayer Book was the usage intended, and it is on this *prima facie* construction of the rubric that the Ritualists base the justice of their claims. Still, it was decided otherwise in the Purchas case. The phrase "by authority of Parliament" was held to be inapplicable to any usage anterior to that of the First Prayer Book, and the apparent inconsistency in the dates was explained as due to the then prevailing custom of dating back all Acts of Parliament from the commencement of the session in which they were passed. However, though this cuts off the greater portion of the ceremonies which the extreme Ritualists have introduced into their churches, the First Prayer Book itself clearly sanctions the use of altar lights "to burn before the Sacrament," copes or tunicles with albs for deacons ministering, vestments (*i.e.*, chasubles) or copes with albs for the priests, and mitre, rochet, and pastoral staff for the Bishop. These then are surely lawful, if not obligatory. Here, however, another difficulty arises. This Ornaments Rubric first appeared in the Prayer Book of 1559, and though it was not then limited by any qualifying clause, there was such a clause in the Act of Uniformity of the same year, by which it was enacted. The clause in question prescribed that the usage (of the First Prayer Book) should prevail "until other Order was taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of the Realm." And in 1566 Archbishop Parker's Advertisements ordered that "in Holy Communion in Cathedral Churches the principal minister shall use a cope with the epistoller or gospeller agreeably, and at other prayers to be said at the communion-table to use no copes but surplices," and that in other churches "every minister shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves." Here three questions arise

which have been much discussed. Was this prescription intended to exclude anything further than what it stated, or merely to require at least this much, in view of the Puritan abuses which had practically abolished in many places all distinctive dresses save Geneva gowns; was this the "other order" of the kind to which the Act of Uniformity of 1559 referred; did not the Act of Uniformity of 1662, which ignored the Advertisements of 1566, and simply restored, with the addition of the term "retained," the Ornaments Rubric of 1559, have the effect of revoking the "other order," even if it had previously obtained force? It is enough to say here that recent decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts have pronounced that the Advertisements of 1566 are to be taken as excluding all that they do not require, as having the force of the "other order" provided for by the Act of 1559, and as not having been set aside by the Act of 1662.

Such is assumed by the Commissioners to be the law in regard to these matters of ritual, and there can be no doubt that, taking it to be such, the modern Ritualists are chargeable with many irregularities which offend against its prescriptions. The Commissioners do not, however, lose sight of the fact that the Ritualists are not the only offenders if strict adherence to the law is to be exacted. There are, in fact, few churches which if judged by so severe a test could come out scatheless, and, looking back on past history, they note that from the days of Elizabeth downwards, quite apart from the action of the Crown itself in sanctioning hymns and special services in contravention of the statute law, there has been "a looseness of practice on the part of the clergy which covers a far wider area," and was only at rare intervals, and then with but limited success, checked by the action of authority. This irregularity proceeded mostly from the Puritan party in the Church, which for long persisted in not using even the surplice, in interpolating long extempore prayers, and in widespread neglect of the positive directions contained in the Prayer Book. Confronted by this array of irregularities of all sorts, and the impossibility of completely restraining them which prevails as much now as it has prevailed in the past, the Commissioners next seek for a principle of classification which will enable them to separate those which may be tolerated from those which ought to be suppressed resolutely. They find it in the distinction between illegal practices which have not or have "a

significance beyond that which the practices themselves possess as breaches of the law." To the category of "non-significant breaches" they refer illegalities which have been adopted "on the ground of convenience," such as publishing notices during public prayer other than those prescribed, saying the words of administration at Holy Communion to rails-full at a time, holding harvest festivals, and missionary gatherings; or "have resulted from negligence or inadvertence," as the omission of daily service, or holyday services, or of announcing the holydays or fast-days of the week on the previous Sunday, or omitting to have sponsors for Confirmation; or "other breaches that have become common, such as omitting the ante-communion service, when there is evening communion."

The breaches "having significance" of which the Commissioners take note, include those and only those charged against the Ritualists by their opponents. With one striking exception, however, namely, the omission at Westminster Abbey of the Athanasian Creed, or rather the conversion of an expurgated form of it from a creed into a canticle. This one exception, indeed, intrudes itself upon the statistics of the Commissioners like a ghost at a banquet, and is quickly put out of sight by being placed in a category all by itself, and not further referred to. Apart from this the Commissioners subdivide the significant breaches into three classes, those significant of no doctrine at all, or of doctrines formally accepted by the Church of England; those significant of doctrine legally declared to be not contrary to the formulas of the Church of England; and those significant of doctrines contrary to the articles or formularies of the Church of England. On illegalities coming under the first two of these classes, provided they are resorted to abstemiously and with the approval of congregations, the Commissioners smile. If too rigid a uniformity is exacted, it is "apt to hinder the healthy progress of religious life under such conditions as those of our day." As for illegalities coming under the third class "the only question that can properly arise is not whether they can be sanctioned, but how they can be most effectively dealt with so as to be made to cease." Still, the Commissioners evidently feel themselves in a difficulty when called upon to give a reason for their clear condemnation of practices belonging to this third class. It is easy at first blush to say that practices significant of doctrines condemned by the authoritative formularies ought to be suppressed, but on further reflection some serious reasons on

the other side must present themselves to Anglican judges. And of this the present Commissioners seem to have been conscious. For the last fifty years both Commissioners and courts have shown a marked reluctance to venture on doctrinal decisions or to exact doctrinal tests. They feel instinctively, though they seldom avow the feeling openly, that to make it an offence to teach Roman doctrine on the Eucharist, or the Invocation of Saints, and such matters, whilst the feeling of the age practically compels them to tolerate open denial of Biblical Inspiration, of Eternal Punishment, of the Resurrection, the Atonement, or even of the Divinity of Christ, would be too grotesque an inconsistency. It would indeed be to give a reality of meaning to the designation "Protestant Church," if its ministers were to be told from the Bench or the Council Chamber that they were free to teach any doctrines whatever, orthodox or heterodox, superstructural or fundamental, as long as they were not distinctively "Romish errors." Yet unless this distinction is made, what basis does there remain, under present circumstances, for a distinction between significant and non-significant illegalities of practice? One can understand all illegalities being put down just because they are illegalities, but to single out some only for condemnation, on the ground that these are expressive of "Romish error" branded as such by the Church of England, whilst the clergy are left free to express the same errors in books and sermons, along with many others of a still more fundamental kind—that does not appear very intelligible.

And, if we mistake not, this is what the Commissioners have felt in their inner consciousness, and to this is due a certain timidity and uncertainty in their language. Some doctrinal basis for ascribing a peccant significance to certain practices they felt they must have, and they sought it in a pronouncement of the Judicial Committee in a case now nearly half a century old, and belonging to a period when the toleration of so many Rationalistic divergencies from the ancient Creed of Christendom had not as yet found either occasion or sanction. Pleading that "matters of doctrine are not included in the reference to the Committee;" and that "in many cases the articles and formularies of the Church do not show with exactness the limits of the teaching its ministers may give without liability to censure," they add that they "cannot regard as outside those limits, that which the courts have

declared to be within them." And then they quote three paragraphs from the Judgment of the Judicial Committee in the Bennett case. These paragraphs refer to the "Presence of Christ in the Sacrament," the "Sacrifice in Holy Communion," and "Adoration of Christ present in Holy Communion," but it cannot be said that they commit themselves to any clear statement on these matters. An Anglican clergyman must not teach "the doctrine of a presence which is corporal or visible," or teach that "the Sacrifice or offering of Christ upon the Cross, or the redemption, propitiation, or satisfaction wrought by it, is or can be repeated in the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper," or perform "acts of adoration to the Sacrament, understanding by that the consecrated elements." These are the sole points which the Bennett judgment clearly affirms, and of course a High Church clergyman would say at once that he does not think of doing any of these things. Still, these were the only doctrinal pronouncements the Commissioners had to go by, and accordingly it is with reference to them that they mark off a long list of illegalities as significant—though even then with a hesitation which restrains them from pronouncing which do and which do not belong to their third class.

The significant illegalities thus indicated and examined are many in number. As simply "illegal practices" are set down Vestments, the *Confiteor* and Last Gospel, Ceremonial mixing of the Chalice, Wafers, *Lavabo*, Hiding the Manual Acts, the Sign of the Cross, *Sanctus* Bell, Incense, Portable Lights, Lights upon the Holy Table, Holy Water, Blessing of Palms, *Tenebrae*, Washing the Altars, Paschal Candles, Stations of the Cross, Observance of Harvest Thanksgivings, Black Letter Saints' Days, and Days excluded from the Prayer Book Calendar. As "illegal practices of a graver kind connected with the service of Holy Communion" are set down Celebrations without Communicants, Children's Eucharists, Use of the Canon of the Mass, Omission of the Invitation, Omission of the Creed and *Gloria in Excelsis*, Elevation, Genuflexion, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, Reservation, Mass of the Pre-Sanctified, Benediction. As "illegal practices as grave as the foregoing, mostly concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Saints, and the Veneration of Images," are set down Observance of days excluded from the Prayer Book Calendar, or introduced since the Reformation into the Calendar of the Church of Rome, Hymns to the Blessed Virgin, and Intercessions of Saints,

Veneration of Images, Veneration of Roods. The foregoing mount up to thirty-four in number, and some interesting details are given as to the extent of their prevalence in Anglican churches, details which cannot but surprise those of our converts who left the Anglican fold some forty or fifty years ago. Thus Eucharistic vestments are now worn in 1,526 churches (that is in about 1 in 10 of the whole number of Anglican churches), and of the 559, visited by the witnesses who appeared before the Commission, 99 used incense, 212 the *Sanctus* Bell, 138 had the Stations of the Cross, 82 had mid-day Masses without Communions, and 100 had Children's Eucharists.

Having thus catalogued a mass of illegal practices which would certainly seem to be in imitation of the usages of the modern Catholic Church, the Commissioners inquire into the origin and development of these practices, which taken as a whole have so strikingly changed the character of the Anglican services. The subject appears to have been treated at some length by Archbishop Davidson in a paper which is to appear in the not yet published volumes of evidence. The Report gives a summary of this. The point of departure was the slovenly practice of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. First, there sprang up a desire for cleanliness, orderliness, and artistic beauty in the sacred buildings and public worship. Then came the Tractarian Movement, which, however, though it laid great stress on the revival of the daily service, of the keeping of festivals, and multiplication of Communions, does not appear to have attempted or desired any changes in the accustomed ritual. The Commission on this point quotes from an interesting letter of Dr. Pusey written in 1851, and relating to the eastward position.

I am grieved to hear [he writes] of your trouble about ritual. One most grievous offence seems to be turning your back to the people. I was not ritualist enough to know till the other day that the act of turning had any special meaning in the consecration. And it certainly seems against the rubric that the consecration should take place so that they cannot see it. Dear Newman consecrated to the last of his consecrations at the north end of the altar.

Indeed the charge against the Tractarians of those early days of the Movement was that they were "ultra-rubricians," engaged, as the Bishops expressed it in their joint pastoral of 1851, in ill-advised "attempts to restore unusual strictness of ritual observance," and so break through a long-established "rule of common

practice, to the disregard of the wishes of the people generally." Still, the seeds of Ritualism were in the principle of the Oxford Movement, for the conception which lay at the base of this Movement was that of the Catholic Church as a visible body spread over the earth, and hence of the Anglican Church as an integral part of it; and this conception inevitably evoked a tendency to look backwards beyond the Reformation period for standards and precedents, and likewise to emphasize and extend in contemporary usage elements of agreement rather than of difference between the National Church at home and the sister Churches abroad. And the Commissioners recognize in the working out of these tendencies, born of the original Tractarian conception, but fostered and developed under the action of many minds since, the explanation of the far-reaching ritual changes which from 1857 to the present day, in spite of many Acts of Parliament, judicial decisions, and episcopal prohibitions, have gone on steadily increasing.

To provide for the introduction of the proposed concessions, the Commissioners suggest that Convocation should be authorized to frame a new Ornaments, or Vestments, Rubric, and (for it is best here to give the exact words of the Report),

to frame such modifications in the existing law relating to the conduct of divine service and to the ornaments and fittings of churches as may tend to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and its present needs seem to demand—

this revised rubric, and these proposed modifications, to be referred to Parliament with a view to their enactment by it; also "to accord a wider power to the Bishops to permit of special services, hymns, and collects." What is to be the precise dividing line between practices to be henceforth legalized, and practices to be henceforth excluded and condemned, it will be for Convocation thus assembled to decide, but the Commissioners express their own opinion that the following practices should certainly be excluded: the interpolation of prayers and ceremonies belonging to the Canon of the Mass; the use of the words Behold the Lamb of God, accompanied by the exhibition of a consecrated wafer or bread; Reservation of the Sacrament under conditions which lead to its adoration, Mass of the Pre-sanctified, Corpus Christi processions with the Sacrament, Benediction with the Sacrament, celebration of

the Holy Eucharist with the intent that there shall be no communicant except the celebrant; hymns, prayers, and devotions involving invocation of or confession to the Blessed Virgin Mary or the saints; the observance of festivals of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of the Sacred Heart, the veneration of images and roods. In short, they would cut off the distinctive usages of the most extreme school, but tolerate vestments, candles, incense, and other things which satisfy the mass of the High Church party.

To insure a greater efficacy of procedure against offenders, larger powers are to be given to the Bishops to enable them to control or extrude disobedient clerics, but it is of more consequence that they take into account the fact that the authority of the civil court, and even of the Bishops as controlled by the decisions of the civil court, is disputed, and its intervention made a pretext for non-compliance, by so many clerics, and on what the Commissioners accept as truly conscientious grounds. To meet this difficulty, whilst at the same time retaining that supremacy for the Crown courts which Parliament would never consent to surrender, they propose that in all cases brought before the usual courts in which a decision on the doctrine of the Church of England is required, the question should be referred to an Assembly of the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the decision which obtains the majority of votes in this Assembly should have to be taken as binding by the courts in their judgments.

Such is the nature and purport of this latest Report on the ritual question, and the following are a few of the reflections it suggests. In the first place is it likely to have any practical results? The High Church papers have already answered this question in the negative, and, as it would appear, with reason. Parliament, to begin with, is not likely to lend its authority to the new scheme, for in the present Parliament not Anglicanism but Nonconformity is in the ascendant, and it is no misrepresentation of the Nonconformist party in its present mood to say that its disposition in any Parliamentary consideration of the scheme would be to study not what is likely to be most beneficial to the Established Church, as long as it remains Established, but what is likely to be most injurious to it. They would say that the more it is internally divided the better—for division means weakness. Nor, even if Parliament should enact the new scheme, is it easy to think that it

would work out as the Commissioners anticipate. It may be assumed that any prosecutions taken under its provisions will be ultimately efficacious only in so far as they can carry with them the general approval of the public, and how can that be counted on? A few newspapers may find their interest occasionally in a campaign against Ritualism as being Romanism in disguise, but just on that account other newspapers will find their interest in undertaking its defence, and meanwhile the opinion of the great silent majority would seem to be that Ritualism should be allowed to take its place among other forms of religious expression in use in the country. This majority notes that, in towns at all events, people do not keep to their parish churches, but pick out churches which suit their taste—whether because of the style of the preacher, or of the service, or of the music—and that there is in this way a distinct demand for Ritualistic churches, which indeed rank a long way above the average in securing good attendances. The majority notes, too, that these churches are usually built and financed by the contributions of those who like them, and that they are wont to be centres of much good and charitable work, the clergy of this sort being specially characterized by their religious earnestness, by their high spirituality, and by their devoted work among the poor. Why not, then, leave them alone, especially as the only people who are active in opposing them belong to a class which is always more in evidence for its opposition to the good works of others than for carrying out good works of its own—a class, in fact, the sole *raison d'être* of whose existence in this modern world is apparently that, as a quaint survival of former habits of thought and feeling, it may show in a living example how unlovely a thing was sixteenth century Puritanism. Moreover, if these Ritualists are to be suppressed by prosecutions, by what standard are they to be judged? Not surely by the present method, which strikes at ceremonies because expressive of doctrines, but is curiously reluctant to define what those doctrines are; but rather, as the Commissioners have suggested, by the standard of doctrinal decisions pronounced by the Archbishops and Bishops of the two provinces—that is, by the majority of their votes. Yet this is a kind of pronouncement which modern public opinion will be apt to view with a jealous eye. It will not be impressed by any declarations of uncertain meaning, and yet what else can be looked for? Nor will it be impressed by decisions which brand

one class of doctrines only whilst not venturing to brand another class of a much more fundamental character. The denial of Inspiration, or Eternal Punishment, or the Atonement, or the Virgin Birth, is more or less popular, and belief in the Real Presence, or the Eucharistic Sacrifice, is unpopular. But for all that public opinion will be quick to perceive and to ridicule the inconsistency which is severe on the latter but indulgent to the former. And lastly, who is going to put the law in motion against the offenders? The Bishops will not be over-ready to take the burden upon themselves. The expenses will be heavy, and they are still apparently to be left to pay them out of their own pockets. The numbers requiring to be prosecuted will continue to be large, so that the alternative for the Bishop will be to prosecute all offenders alike, to the grave disturbance of his diocese, or to make invidious distinctions. Still less is a Government likely to put its hand into such a hornet's nest. So that the task will be left to those private persons who are moved to undertake it; and these will inevitably be, as hitherto, of that ultra-Protestant type whose intervention is sure to attract sympathy for the victims, and cause their prosecution to be termed persecution.

Or is it thought that the Commissioners having arranged to bring under the ban of the law a few extremists only, prosecutions under their scheme will have the sympathy of the general body even of the High Churchmen? That is unlikely. Let it be granted that the extremists are foolish in multiplying devotions too obviously borrowed from modern "Romanism;" and let it be granted that by this folly they irritate the more moderate adherents of the same religious movement, who feel themselves compromised by it. Still, if the extremists are prosecuted it will be on the ground that they have tried by their ceremonies and devotions to give expression to the doctrines of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and the others will feel that a blow struck at them in these names is a blow struck at themselves,—for the Commissioners forget that these two beliefs are intense in a vastly larger number than that of those who try to express them by Reservation, or interpolation of Mass prayers, or Corpus Christi processions, or Masses of the Pre-sanctified.

Perhaps, however, it is thought that there will be no longer any need for prosecutions. Is not the procedure of the court to be modelled so that the arbitrament of doctrines will be

reserved to the spiritual authority, and is not obedience to the spiritual authority, now no longer controlled by the doctrinal decisions of a lay court, just one of the points to which the Ritualist's creed attaches a special importance? If the Commissioners counted upon this they are likely to be quickly disillusioned. We may safely say that the Ritualists would have obeyed any court, ecclesiastical or lay, which gave judgment in favour of their practices; and they are equally sure to refuse obedience to any court, spiritual or lay, which gives judgment against them. Nor are they to be at once set down as lawless for taking this course. The British public should make up its mind whether it does or does not condemn blind obedience, for it cannot expect to condemn it and at the same time exact it; still less to exact it under circumstances when even we Catholics should deem it unlawful. Yet this is the position in which a Ritualist may find himself placed when the law, whether in its present or in its desired state, calls on him to give up his practices as being expressive of forbidden doctrines. For even we should consider blind obedience unlawful in cases where the authority exacting it is unable to offer to private judgment a surer guarantee than its own of sound doctrine and safe practice. Yet how could the decision of an Anglican lay court, or a chance majority of Anglican Bishops chosen and imposed by a secular Government, pretend to offer a guarantee of the kind?

Of course it will be replied to this that the question is of the doctrines of the National Church as enunciated in her formularies, and that it is not such a difficult thing to decide what these are, and to make the grounds of the decision so evident that no one in good faith can deny them; further, that it is a question for the cleric arraigned not of holding doctrines opposed to his conscientious convictions, but of ministering at the altars of a particular church, and yet claiming to teach doctrines and hold services opposed to her formularies. But the answer is that this estimate leaves out of account some essential facts. One of the Memorials submitted to the Committee pleaded for recognition of the First Six Centuries' test, and in presenting it, the Dean of Canterbury, we are told, "drew attention to the constant references which the Church of England makes in her formularies to the 'custom of the primitive Church,' and quoted the authority of Bishops Jewel, Andrewes, and Cosin, and of Dr. Crackenthorp, as well as of

the eleven Articles of 1559, in support of his contention." Just so. The Anglican Church, at the time of its reconstruction (or construction), in the Tudor days was compelled by stress of circumstances to admit what were really contradictory principles into its constitution. Its authors drew up the formularies to suit their own conceptions of the doctrine and practice sanctioned by Holy Scripture, rejecting the beliefs of the near past, and paying no attention to the beliefs of the remote past. On the other hand, it would have been suicidal to disavow all connection with the past, for after all Christianity was an historical religion, so they were compelled to claim that the Church in primitive days was pure in doctrine, and that they in England were returning to this purity of doctrine, whilst what they were casting off were but comparatively modern corruptions. But to speak thus was to set before their people two independent standards of doctrine and practice, that of their formularies and that of the Primitive Church; two standards, moreover, of which the latter was from the nature of the case the more authoritative. Was it not inevitable then that some of their clergy should eventually take up the appeal to the Primitive Church and investigate it for themselves? Of course, if the result of such an investigation were to show how close was the accord between the Anglicanism of the formularies and the doctrines and practices of the Primitive Church, it could only tend to strengthen the hold of these formularies on the minds of the people. But if the result were rather to show that there was a discord between the two, then the inevitable effect on earnest minds must be to evoke just such an attachment to the primitive doctrines, and just such a stubborn resistance to any formularies or judicial decisions opposed to them, as are now causing trouble and dissension in the Anglican Church, and proving themselves to be wholly ineradicable. Yet those who know their First Six Centuries will know that it is just this which has happened. To take a single instance, one, however, which is intimately connected with the Ritual disputes. The Commissioners argue that various points of ritual are of comparatively late origin. That may be admitted, but they also assume that the doctrines of the Real Presence and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice did not become doctrines of the Church till the tenth century. But how is that consistent with such passages as the following, from

a writer so representative of the best Churchmen of his age as St. John Chrysostom :

When you are about to approach to the dread and divine table, and to the sacred mystery, do it with fear and trembling, with a pure conscience, with fasting and prayer. . . . Reflect, O man, what a sacrifice thou art about to touch, what a table thou art about to approach ; think that dust and ashes though thou be, thou receivest Christ's Body and Blood. If even a king invite you to a banquet, you recline at table with fear, and receive the food that is before you reverently and silently ; whilst when God invites you to His own table, and sets before you His own Son—the angelic powers standing round with fear and trembling, and the cherubim veiling their faces, the seraphim crying out with dread, Holy, Holy, Holy—dost thou approach with shouting and confusion to this spiritual banquet?¹

It is time to approach this awful table . . . Christ is present, and He that set forth that table then, the same sets forth this now. For it is not man that makes the things that lie before (him) become Christ's Body and Blood, but that same Christ that was crucified for us. The priest fulfilling his part stands pronouncing these words, but the power and the grace is of God. *This is My Body*, he says. This word transmutes the things lying before him. And as that word that said *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth* was pronounced indeed but once, but through all time is operative in empowering our nature to procreate children, so also that word uttered but once from that time to this, and till His own advent, perfects the sacrifice made ready at every table in the churches.²

S. F. S.

¹ *Hom. in diem natal. J. Christi*, n. 7.

² *Hom. I., De Prodit Judae*, n. 6.

Extracts from the Papers of a Pariah.

[The standpoint from which these papers are written is of one who, while not yet a Catholic, prefers to judge of the Church by his own observation and the reports of her friends, rather than by prejudice and the accusations of her enemies.]

X.

THE PERSONALITY OF THE CHURCH.

... I DO not propose to be so foolish as to attempt to define what I mean by Personality, nor even to describe it at any length. It is not the resultant of innumerable living cells in union, nor the sum of intellectual and emotional qualities, nor is it even identical with Character. It is partly these, no doubt, and may be viewed or even sometimes stated in the terms of each of these three systems, yet it transcends them all. It may be compared perhaps by an amateur such as myself most luminously, to a chord of music,—“not a fourth sound but a star.” Like the flame of fire, the fragrance of a rose, the glory of a sunset, it may be analyzed and accounted for by the philosopher or the chemist, but it can be apprehended only by the poet, artist, or lover. So at least it seems to me.

The point, however, which I wish to discuss with myself is the fact of the personality, or at least something resembling it, of which we are aware in every society, divine or human. Just as the personality of a man transcends the sum of his attributes, or appears to do so—for a character may be attractive to me, who dislike every one of its component elements so far as I know them; so the personality of a society may be something very different from what one would conceive to be the aggregate of those personalities which compose it. It is a notorious fact, for example, that a company consisting of pleasant, right-minded folk is often found in its public acts to show neither courtesy nor conscience: a board of ten directors may cheerfully pursue

a career of social crime which would be the horror of each of its members ; a college may be composed of twelve tolerant scholars, and yet in its policy afford a shocking picture of narrow-minded and ungenerous bigotry.

Yet the explanation of this is not far to seek ; it is to be found in the fact that in all human societies the bond of union is not one of courtesy or conscience, still less of immortal souls : it is rather for commerce or learning, or some other mutual material advantage that they combine. A director of a railroad may be a churchwarden or a mystic, but he is not united with his fellows in that capacity ; and the result therefore of Monday morning deliberations is what might be expected of a number of persons who have officially left their Christianity at home. The religion, and even the motives that guide each gentleman in his domestic dealings are wholly absent, not indeed from him, but from the contribution that he makes to the business for whose sake he is seated at the green-covered table.

Instances might be indefinitely multiplied of this curious social fact. A mob collectively may be swayed by motives which each howling unit would unhesitatingly repudiate ; a jury may after an hour's deliberation condemn a fellow-creature to death on evidence which each jurymen would scarcely think sufficient to turn the balance in the buying of a horse ; and yet, who can doubt that trial by jury is on the whole supremely just ? The fact remains, explain as we will, that when once a union is set up between sentient wills there comes into being a strange character—I had almost called it Personality—which appears at any rate certainly transcendent of, and even alien to, the various elements of which it ought to be the result.

If this thought is a significant one, when we consider its bearing on human societies, how far more pregnant it becomes when we transfer it to that astonishing society which we call the Catholic Church. In that Church we have a union not based upon commercial considerations, or the pursuit of science, but upon huge and monstrous facts which we are scarcely able even to apprehend. The souls of men are concerned, united one to another not for temporal ends, but eternal. They are brought together, not for purposes of pressing earthly claims or conducting worldly business, or even advocating a certain system of thought, but that they may minister to the infinite glory of God and find a spiritual salvation which cannot even be pictured to the imagination. Again, the units which compose

this society are selected on account not of their capacities but their needs; no nation or class is excluded; the saint has no more claim than the sinner, the theologian than the dunce. None are rejected save those who reject; none are encouraged save those who voluntarily correspond. Yet, with all this, if the Church's claim is true, the union that binds her children together transcends that of all human societies, as her object transcends theirs. The contribution that each must make is not that of one set of faculties, of this or that hour of time, of this piece of experience or that intention; but of his whole self, body, mind, and immortal soul; and each such self is welded into union with its fellows after a fashion for which there is no adequate analogy in the world. It is through a new and mystical birth that each must pass—a birth that changes character while it does not obliterate characteristics; and it is through this very birth in the presence of which even the professed theologian is apt to doubt his powers, that every soul enters into a mysterious life flowing from God and permeating not earth alone, but Heaven and Purgatory as well, which is named the Communion of Saints.

Again, approaching the subject from the dogmatic standpoint, we find a number of phrases in the Scriptures descriptive of this extraordinary fact, which appear to open to believers new ranges of thought as to its contents—Christ compares Himself to a Vine of which His disciples are the branches, and seems by the metaphor to insist yet more strongly on the actually Divine nature of His Church's personality. From one point of view the Church is composed of its members, from another it is identical with Himself. In one phrase we are informed that He is the Head and we the members, and in another that the Body, too, is His, indwelt by His Spirit and guided by His Mind. In brief, if we accept the New Testament as an authoritative guide, we are informed that while our instincts are right in attributing some kind of personality or character to every society, however loosely held together, the personality of the Divine Society which is called the Church is infinitely more worthy of the name, for that by virtue of the mystical union of all believers, or perhaps in response to it, there comes down upon it that transcendent personality from which all others flow, even that Divine character which is the possession of God alone. If a board of directors or a college of scholars generates a character alien from its component

elements so far as we know them ; the Catholic Church, on the other hand, generates a thing that on one hand we may call the Communion of Saints, and on the other the Spirit or the Mind, or even the Person, of Jesus Christ Himself.

Now I am not the man to pursue this line of thought further ; perhaps I am not even the man to pursue it so far ; but it appears to me to illuminate a large number of dark subjects. Let me mention two.

(1.) The act of faith, to one who can accept my presentation, appears no longer to be an unreasonable thing, for its object is no longer an elaborate system of thought which the convert is required to criticize, but a personal character. Few men are capable, if indeed any are, of passing final judgment upon a philosophy or an art ; but no man is excusable if he refuses to judge of one who claims his friendship : in fact, he cannot refuse, when once the claim is made clear.

I have no right to say dogmatically that I know that homœopathy is a delusion, unless I have made an exhaustive study of its contents, and perhaps not even then ; but I have a perfect right to say that I will choose this doctor and not that : and this, I think, is a fair though rough parallel to the search after religious truth. The Church comes to me not under the guise of a creed, but in the habiliments of a person. "Look well at me," she says, "read my history if you will, ask for my testimonials, study what I have to say ; but above all, give me a personal interview. Exercise that faculty which you exercise in the choice of a wife or a doctor or a friend, and act upon it. You may reject me as many others have done and will do to the end of time. Men may make mistakes with the best intentions in the world, such as the conscientious Pharisee or the distraught sinner made when they looked upon Jesus Christ and passed by. I do not even say that it will necessarily be your fault ; it may well be that education or prejudice or natural blindness will lead even you to misread my eyes ; but do not make the mistake of thinking that your judgment is a matter only of learning or profound study : it is not chiefly that ; it is a personal thing within the range of all normal persons. I am not merely the aggregate of my members, or the total of my units. You need not know my history, or have precise knowledge of my doctrine, or estimate the statistics of the world's

morality. I am a kind of person, like yourself; and I desire to be so treated."

(2.) The claim to infallibility, too, looked at in the light of this supposition, is no longer an absurd thing. It is said sometimes with a show of reason, that the judgment of a body of persons acting in concert cannot exceed in value the judgment of all those persons acting separately. So Fulke said to Campion. Yet we have seen, even in human societies, how widely such judgments may differ. The decision of a jury may be something very different from the aggregate of the opinions of its members, since each may be dull and yet all shrewd. How much more then may not the judgment of a Divine Society, united by a mystical bond of which we can scarcely do more than guess the nature, transcend the judgment of each of its members mechanically added together? And above all, in view of the phrases which I have quoted, it surely should not be hard for those who accept Jesus Christ as God, to allow that the judgment of His Church, which in one aspect is indistinguishable from Himself, is as infallible as His own! Each reason, each quotation, each illustration of an Ecumenical Decree may be faulty, yet the decision itself be true.

Lastly, it cannot be denied that the Catholic Church at any rate seems to present the phenomenon of a personal character quite unlike that of any other society. She is accused by her enemies of being at once unchanging and changeable, obstinate and capricious. She appeals to the imagination and the heart at least as much as to the critical faculty. Men fall in love with her, as they do not fall in love with the Royal Geographical Society; she does not depend upon her material accessories—she is loved or loathed as much beneath a corrugated tin roof as beneath fretted vaults and spires; coarse boors and unemotional peasants die for her as cheerfully as refined scholars and attenuated mystics live by her. And, on the other hand, her enemies hate her with a passion that can only be personal, they witness to her life by the very fury with which they attack it. In other words she presents exactly those phenomena which surround a lovable person whose character is sufficiently magnetic to affect all who come within her range with either adoration or hatred. Above all she is credited even by those who deny her claims with endowments that can only

properly belong to a sentient being ; she never forgets, it is said, she plots, she welcomes, she inspires. Mr. Mallock, in a moving paragraph or two, describes her claim to have been present at the empty tomb of her Lord and Spouse, and explains that her children believe in the Resurrection not because of documentary evidence, but because of her word who was an eye-witness of that supreme credential of hers and His. "I saw it," she cries, "I witnessed the meeting of His Mother and mine ; I was in the boat with John and Peter ; I stood within the upper room when the doors were shut ; I watched the cloud receive Him : I saw—I who speak with you now."

Yes ; there is no question about it that if ever I find myself able to receive Christianity as Divine, I shall seek it at the mouth of one who can vouch for its truth, and in whose trustworthiness I myself believe. Documents and criticism are not foundations on which spiritual life, self-sacrifice, and eternal issues can be safely reposed ; I have neither time nor power to sift evidence and weigh testimonies, nor sufficient self-confidence to reject this as an accretion and accept that as a survival. I must put myself, if ever I feel personally justified in doing so, in the hands of one whom I perceive to be Divine, whose life is as continuous as the centuries, whose memory is as unfailing as time, and through whose glowing eyes I see the Spirit of God to shine. . . .

XI.

DEATH.

. . . This morning my landlord ran into my room in great agitation, telling me that his cousin, who lived a hundred yards away, had been seized with some kind of convulsions and lay dying. The doctor had been sent for, and the priest—for the man was a Catholic ; but neither was yet come, and the women were terrified.

I took my hat and ran back with him, and on the very doorstep encountered the doctor ; and we went upstairs together.

The sick man had been got to bed, and lay there deathly pale, with open eyes, staring out senselessly through the window opposite, which none had thought to screen : his hands were hidden ; his lips were parted, and his face twitched from time

to time. A woman stood by him, helpless and anxious, nearly as pale as he; she gave a great sob of relief as we came in together.

While the doctor was at his work I went and stood by the window looking out, wondering at the swiftness with which tragedy had suddenly dropped upon the sordid house. I wondered too, as to a great many other things—as to the man's mind as he stared into eternity, the horror of the whole affair, the Supreme Mind which, apparently, plans such an exit from this life, and gives us all an hour of terror to which we must look forward. Why too, I asked myself, is all so elaborate; why do we all do our utmost to prolong a life such as this, which has crept along suffering from internal pain, as I knew, for more than ten years? And my answer was that it was instinct not reason that inspired us; death was so shocking that there was no question but that it must be resisted with might and main as by a kind of reflex action: our efforts were scarcely defensible, but entirely necessary and natural. I thought this and a great deal more as I looked out on to the woods in the valley beneath. It was a windless morning, mellow and sweet; the ground fell away rapidly below, and the meadow merged presently in a slope of undergrowth that rose up into saplings and birches, and deep woods beyond. The air was like warm wine this morning, soft and invigorating: over the leafless branches there lay a velvet softness as of coming spring, and over all rose up the tender vault of blue skined with clouds.

I must confess that it was chiefly ironical horror that prevailed in my mind. It was terrible to think that a Lord of Love was supposed to be transcendent beyond that sky and immanent in this lower air and life—a Lord of Love that was Almighty too, and could so easily have arranged all otherwise or explained it a little to reassure us that there was some plan behind this apparent carelessness and brutality. Here was a chess-board of black and white—of suffering and sweetness, the dying man and the kindling woods; and what right have I to choose to say that the board is essentially white and only accidentally black: if it were I who were dying should I not feel that agony was the truth of it all, and peace no more than an occasional incident? So far as I remember pain, it seems to me to be so.

This Lord of Love too—what was He doing at this time, and His Mother and the saints and the hosts of impassible

spirits? Were they aware of what was happening? They watch and give no sign and the horror goes on, ruthless and inevitable.

When I turned round at a sound Father Thorpe was at the doorway.

Now I cannot describe except very briefly what took place next, for I am quite unskilful in ecclesiastical matters and should no doubt blunder.

First of all, the priest came across to the table near me, drew out a little bag, all without a word, set down two doll's candles and lighted them. He spread a little linen square, put up a little crucifix; and then drew from round his neck another bag with cords. He opened this, and set down a tiny silver thing like a watch.

Then I saw that the others were kneeling, and I knelt down too.

Presently he was across again by the bed, kneeling by it, and telling the sick man that he was come to give him the Last Sacraments. He said that Jesus Christ had died on the Cross for his sake; that God did not ask us to do what we could not, and that He understood that confession was impossible. He must make an act of contrition then; let him say in his heart: "My God, I am sorry for my sins because I love Thee with my whole heart."

He spoke like this for a moment or two with a kind of brisk but not untender earnestness, looking steadily at the white face that stared back at him with scarcely more than a glimmer of sense; then he stood up, and pronounced, I suppose, the Absolution. Then he was back again at the table, opening the silver watch-case.

I did not like to observe very closely; but I was aware presently that the priest was holding up the little white disc and repeating some words: then he was back again at the bedside leaning over the dying man, and there was something resembling a tiny struggle, as the man was heaved up by his cousin and the priest bent forward. . . .

Then the anointing began; his hands, his eyes, his ears, his nostrils, and his mouth. All one by one were signed by the priest's thumb; finally the bed-clothes, already loosened, were drawn up at the end of the bed, and his feet, too, were signed and covered again.

Then, after a few more prayers and ceremonies to which I did not attend very closely, the priest blew out the candles and went out of the room to whisper with the doctor.

Now, written down baldly like this, I am aware that all this sounds most unimpressive, distinctly "vain" and probably rather superstitious. Yet all that I can say is that these ceremonies and words, the bearing of the priest, the half-intelligent response of the sick man, who was by now clasping a crucifix and looking upon it, the sudden frozen stillness of those who assisted—in fact the effect of the entire performance—produced an extraordinary change in me.

As I sit now in the evening writing this in my study, it appears to me that my first reflections on the tragedy and heartlessness of death were those of a stupid savage. I cannot tell what it was exactly that wrought the change; I can only say that when it was done, the change was there.

Death no longer seemed to me a sickening horror; it had turned into a warm and soothing presence; it was awful still, but with the mysterious awfulness of a great and quiet forest rather than that of a slaughter-house or a wind-swept icy peak with howling precipices. It was as if after a couple of harsh notes had been struck on some instrument—notes of brutal irreconcilable contrasts, another had been added to them which resulted in a solemn sweet chord. There was no longer that shocking inconsistency between the mellow day outside and the death-sweat and mortal pains within; it was no longer true that a Lord of Love held Himself apart in some sunny Heaven and tossed this heart-breaking problem down into a venomously cruel world: it was all one now: He held both in the hollow of His Arms against His quiet Heart, in a span so vast that I could not follow it, but in an embrace so warm that I was no longer chilled.

Ah! it is not possible to say how all this came about, nor how real it was to me. I can only tell myself again that it was like a chord of music, struck without a stroke, sounding without vibration, welling out in the stillness as of an orchestra of strings and mellow horns held long to one great harmony that reconciled good and evil, pain and joy, life and death, God and nature.

I do not think that I am either heartless or sentimental. I know that there were tears on my face just now as I was told that the sick man died an hour ago, and I do not think that

they would have been there if he had died in my presence before the coming of the priest. It was that which resolved the discord and made me understand—that series of actions and incomprehensible words; the sense beneath them all that told me that God cared and had provided, and that if He allowed the death, He furnished strength to meet it. Without that I should have been hard and resentful and agonized; with it I was able to weep instead.

What a religion this is in which to die!

I wish I could explain all that I mean by that, or even the effect upon me of what I witnessed. Those ceremonies were as the sliding of a key into an intricate lock; we cannot grasp the mysteries of the words, yet the door is open and we can look within for a few minutes. We cannot even remember or tell what it is that we have seen. I cannot even tell myself what I saw there, except that it was not a black and empty room into which I looked. Death is not like that; it is sweet and friendly, as a fire-lit hall into which men may see from the darkness outside. There are, too, no doubt, other doors through which we may look; but I am sure that the same view is not seen through these. That is the least of what I mean when I say that this is the religion in which to die.

The first paper of this kind which I ever wrote was, I remember, on the Requiem on All Souls' day; and here I am back again at the same heart-shaking point, death and what is behind death and beneath it and, above all, supreme over it. I wonder, as I sit here and write, whether this is possibly the conclusion of my circle; whether I have been led from death to death, as from strength to strength, looking at this and that, and making my poor little comments and drawing my cheap conclusions, and airing my sickly sentiment or my distressing humour. After all it does not matter very much. No man can do more than is in his power, as Father Thorpe said this morning, and though I am well aware of my own sublime inadequacy, there is this one hole into which I can creep from the wrath of the Lamb, and that is my own sorrow that I have ever offended Him. . . .

Yes: this is a religion in which it is possible to die properly. What else but this would have served that unimaginative, middle-aged man whom I saw alive eight hours ago? He did not want sentiment, or exhortations to an emotion of which he

was incapable, or adulation from friends who seek to make death easy by an insincere flattery of a life that was far from stainless. He did not even want appointments to be made with him in Heaven, reminders that they would all meet, good, bad, and indifferent alike, at the foot of an improbable throne. He wanted a great deal more than that, and a great deal less. He was a sinner, and he knew it, and he wished to be dealt with on that understanding. He wished to be as clean as possible, and so he was absolved; to be accompanied by God on that mysterious journey, and so he received *Viaticum*; to be strengthened and cleansed once more, so he was anointed; to escape—as was but natural—all pains that could be avoided, and so he received the Last Blessing. Finally, he wished to have his failing eyes cheered, and his nerveless hands supported, so the image of his Saviour was put into his grasp.

We have lived so long by our senses, counting that real which we can touch and handle, that God in His mercy allows us in all reality to do so to the end. He takes oil and bread and water and metal, and makes them not only the symbols, but the very vehicles of what we require. "Look on that," cries the Church, as she holds up her crucifix, "there is the image of your Lord; kiss it for His sake. Look on this," as she lifts the Host, "This is He Himself—*Ecce Agnus Dei!* Taste and see that He is gracious. . . . Turn your hands over and feel the soft oil. . . . That is His mighty loving-kindness. Abandon yourself to these things; throw your weight on them and they will bear you up. Seize them, and you have hold on eternal life."

Please God, that she may say these things to me!

Edited by
R. H. BENSON.

The Unconquered.

Life and Death fought together in an amazing duel.

Easter Sequence.

STEADILY, though very slowly, the new Roman road was thrusting itself forward over the Westmorland hills.

To his great disgust, Ælius Flavinus, Prefect of Amboglanna,¹ one of the guard-stations on Hadrian's great wall, had been drafted off to supervise the building. To his disgust, for he was old and disliked moving; disliked it, indeed, so heartily that he had been unwilling to change his military life for the novel quiet of mere lonely citizenship. To his disgust, too, because the new road was at best a second-rate affair, altogether inferior to the works to which he had attended during these last years.

At Brovacum—the Brougham Castle of to-day—it sprang out of the stone network which had knotted itself about the mighty wall; then, sloping southwards and a little west, it passed through a country barely different—save that the lowlands were more densely wooded—from what meets our eye to-day.²

His soldiers were few, but they knew their work; and Flavinus, to whom conversation had grown irksome, spent long hours alone, gazing out from one brink or other of the High Street ridge. The eastern was his favourite view, where the fell-side sweep is sheer, and where spur behind spur of mountain—Kidsty, Rough Crag, and the rest—fling themselves out, naked rock or turf-clad, from the parent ridge. Straight below, brimming in their volcano-cups, lay Blea and Small Waters, steel-black, with the faintest rim of slate-colour where, for a few inches, the bottom showed through the water before sinking into unplumbed obscurities. From these, with a noisiness and

¹ Birdoswald.

² This road rises quickly, and keeps to the very crest of the ridge now called High Street, which runs below Ullswater; it thence plunges into Ambleside, and joins Maiden Way at Over Burrow; and then passes behind and over Longridge into Ribchester, ending at Manchester.

whiteness the more startling for the utter silence of the dark tarns behind them, tumbled forth two becks, scurrying headlong through Mardale into wasp-waisted Hawes Water five miles distant. Heather-crowned bluffs framed grey and rolling hills far off, darkened even now by the wide woods of Lowther.

Flavinus came more often to this side of the ridge, because he unconsciously responded to the greater restfulness of the scene. Over yonder, the country had been thrown up into such an astonishing chaos of hill and dale—so reckless of all unity was the ridge-work which, at sudden angles and with abrupt juts ran this way and that, that not even the huge tangle of Helvellyn on the horizon could weld the scene into a whole. In fact, through long centuries, when Rome had withdrawn her majesty from the hills, each district of this country, Patterdale, Caudale, Boardale, and the rest, remained isolated units side by side, engendering lives intensely narrow, proud, and very loyal.

It was beyond all doubt a mark of creeping age, that he felt himself ever less capable of resisting the emotions which this outside world of light and colour had always suggested to him; and this country that, centuries on, should most inspire our own English poet of these hills and winds and waters, spoke to him very imperatively.

But its message was increasingly one of weariness, of desolation, and of death. It was hard, though perhaps not impossible, to find a reason for this. Motionless as it all was, this tumbled landscape gave the impression of motion violently arrested; of a great activity only kept from expressing itself in tumult because acted on by a force as great as was itself. In many places the slopes were by no means abrupt; but, on the other hand, nowhere could the eye detect a level; wherever it was fain to rest for a moment, the oblique lines carried it on and on, till the angle of valley or hill-crest sent it travelling, with a jerk, as it were, along some other inclination. Immense surfaces, huge sheets of dim colours, grey, subdued purple, and dull green, seemed tilted thus on all sides—so smooth (since distance levelled every projection or hollow) that it appeared incredible that the boulders or shale, scattered black upon them, should not slip off the gradient and race down to the valley's crook, and there pack close.

Still, if you looked attentively you realized how scarred and corrugated the most even surface really was; paths, or rather

tracks, accounted partly for this—tracks visible enough even to the inexperienced from a distance, but which vanished as soon as you sought to approach them, and which became mere water-courses directly rain fell. Then grass slope and crag alike would be veined with white foam ; tiny rills hanging absolutely motionless, one would have said, and like wisps of scattered wool, against the dark background. And indeed at any time, if you listened very carefully, the extraordinary and almost shocking silence would be found to be in reality shot with the infinitesimal voices of thousands upon thousands of these tiny water-threads, dropping invisible through the fern and heather and turf, and only spreading into silence where they came upon the great sops of peat and moss that were flung upon the fell-side. These showed like wide patches of black, and parts of the landscape were draped with them, as with a heavy pall.

Indeed, it was curious how much of black or of cinder-grey there was about the view, even on days of high wind, when great masses of dazzling white cloud journeyed across the blue, heaving and rocking stormily. Sentinelled on gloomy crags, soot-fleeced sheep and rams looked superciliously down at you absolutely immovable till your approach sent them leaping madly down the hill. At long intervals, wild ponies, black too and shaggy, stood trembling with excitement at sight of a stranger, till with a sudden thunder of hoofs on the turf, or with an angry sucking sound, as they floundered into peat, they galloped away.

Yet sailing clouds and storm-footed ponies, and whispering threads of waters, all seemed to intensify by their contrast the general silence and immobility of things. They were too small to stand out against the great masses heaped in petrified confusion all around, too insignificant to dominate the general impression which the vast desolation all about him was working into the very substance of the soldier's brain ; were all incapable of pushing back for Flavinus the prevailing presence of death. The only movements huge enough to shock him were the wide shiftings of shadow, as the clouds swept high above the hillside, or the pale ripple spreading suddenly on steel-grey lake and tarn where the wind trailed its skirts over the inscrutable surface ; and somehow these movements always scandalized Flavinus ; he felt as though some ghastly jester were wantonly questioning a corpse.

It was owing to a certain subconscious resistance to this awful sense of helplessness that Flavinus, as he sat on the black edge of rocks, had carved carefully on one of them, which he levered up from the soil, the legend *Vivas Mithra, Vivam Flavinus*—"Life to thee, Mithra; life to me Flavinus." A formula unusual, it is true, and almost unorthodox as the expression of devotion to the Persian god, whose inscriptions vary but little in their wording.¹ But of all the characteristics of the Eastern cult, it was its reiterated promise of immortality, its picture of life, exuberant, invincible, incarnate in Mithra the Unconquered—which had from the beginning fascinated the soldier's fancy, and now, more than ever, seemed to flood his thought, till it developed, almost, the persistency of an obsession. Now that he was so indubitably grown old, now that the society of young and really strong men seemed to him alternately reproachful and unintelligible, the vision of the god's young face, the memory of his own initiation returned and returned to him. Perhaps his Sabine ancestors had bequeathed to him some of that stern poetry which had run in their blood—perhaps a life relentlessly prosaic and divorced from beauty, was now asserting its soul-reaction—from whatever cause, it remained a fact that the old man's imagination occupied itself hour after hour with the immense suggestions of hope and mystic joy which sprang from the ritual of the Mithraic crypt. His father had been among those whom Trajan had transplanted from their Italian homes to people his new colony of Dacia, and there, in the bleak Carpathians, and by the rushing Danube, the army had most of all, perhaps, propagated the worship which it had brought from the mysterious East. As he sat on the Westmorland hills, he could recall, with ease, those other mountains, among which the crypts were so readily built for the ritual of the god—crypts long and narrow, with raised platforms of masonry, running down either side, where knelt the worshippers; while between them stood, beyond the holy water stoup, each in his several place, the initiate of the seven ranks, or the priest who performed that part of the office which was appropriate to each. Strange and grotesque enough they looked, these men, with masks of lions' heads or crows' to cover their faces, and violently illuminated by light which poured from the apse of the crypt. For there, within the raised and railed-

¹ Throughout this article we are constantly indebted to M. Franz Cumont's *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*.

off sanctuary, where the priests recited their old litanies, stood many lamps that cast a brilliant glow over the bas-relief whereon Mithra's mysterious sacrifice of the sacred bull was depicted—and this, as the solemn service advanced to the sound of flute, and sweet-toned bells, swung round, it would seem, and showed the Supreme God once more at peace with the mediator Mithra, and the world to which his great oblation had given new life.¹

It was natural, perhaps, that Flavinus had been but little influenced by many cults or systems which he had met, and which testified one and all to man's thirst for a hereafter; a passion which fired Lucretius with angry scorn; at which Lucian laughed so little only because man's love of life seemed to him still more absurd. A craving which issued into dreams where Socrates found courage, and Plato and Plutarch hopes which flushed, at times, into the ecstasy of possession. Is not the great doctrine of Plato's *Theætetus* enough to prove how splendid was the vision whereby not a few only of his age "were on their way attended"—did not the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις draw its "intimations of immortality" from that very sea of pre-natal life with God that has broken, with its sunlit spray and deep music, into Wordsworth's greatest poem? Most illuminative of all, perhaps, will be to some minds the passage in the *Phædo*² where Socrates, within an hour of his execution, exults and justifies his exultation by the legend of the swans, who, when death draws near, "sing more than ever"—not making their own dirge, but for sheer delight that they may

¹ In England, though Mithra's worship was humbler, it was as popular as ever with the army, and Flavinus, when Prefect at Rutchester, left us this inscription: "To the God Unconquered, Mithra, P. Ælius Flavinus acquits himself, with right good will, of his vow and duty."—*Deo Invicto Mytrae P. Æl(ius) Flav(i)nus praef[ectus] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)*. (*C.I.L.* vii. 541.) Almost wherever the army had lingered in this country, the Mithra-crypts sprang up, or inscriptions, at the least, were reared. London, Caerleon, Chester, and York; and most of all, the extreme north, Rutchester, House Steeds, Lanchester, Whitley Castle, and Birdoswald, all are rich in remains; and one splendid inscription has come to light in the Northumbrian Rochester. It is impossible to fix Mithra's arrival in England with exactness. The earliest date appears to lie between 71 and 87 A.D., for part of which period, at least, the Legio II. Adiutrix camped at Caerleon. One only inscription (no. 480 in Cumont's *Monuments*, ii.) is dated, by the names of the Consuls of 252 A.D. But inscription 476, which must be assigned to the second century, already mentions the *restoration* of a temple (*vide* Cumont, *ibid.* i. p. 258, note 8) and *C.I.L.* vii. 1039 is perhaps to be assigned to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

² Pp. 84, 85.

now "go away to the God whose ministers they are." So did Socrates look forward to his own departure into the company of the gods, and of "the spirits of just men made perfect," with, we fancy, just that gently-mocking smile at his expression to himself of his most deep convictions, which is perhaps the highest testimony our faith admits—testimony that the heart has recognized what it loves, even in that which the intellect can but inadequately reveal, and the tongue never express.

But directly we understand how essentially Greek were this expression and the mood that engendered it, we realize, too, that it could never have touched Flavinus, though it witnessed to exactly the same desire for an after-death as his. Too Greek, equally, to attract him were the mysteries of Eleusis and their like, even had he come in their way, as did so many Italian travellers who were initiated. Egypt and its Alexandrian Neo-platonism he had never met with, either; in these, not nationalism but their extraordinary mixture of metaphysics and charlatanism would have been his stumbling-block. His love of the practical and his hatred of a lie would have joined to render him inappreciative of its best, and contemptuous of its worst, just as the yearly ceremonies of death and resurrection in hysterical Asiatic ceremonies could have no message for him.

The old Persian religion, however, had much that was sure to appeal to Flavinus. That very exclusion of women from its theology and even from its worship, which ruins, for us, its chance of spiritual universality, may have actually approved itself to his Roman hardihood; its astounding antiquity will at once have fired his reverence for all that ancestral use had sanctified. Before Persian had separated from Hindu, Mithra was worshipped; his name is in the *Veda*;¹ and in the course of ages he seems to have worked into his religion every feature,

¹ Mithra escapes the controversy that centres round the date of Zoroaster's reform of the Iranian faith, inasmuch as it seems proved that the fully developed religion of Mithra, as the Romans received it, had evolved from the beginning on its own lines, undisturbed by its puritan offshoot. But within this ancient faith, long after its first great "contamination" with Chaldean astrology, Mithra's extraordinary pre-eminence seems only to have been attained when the worship developed in Mesopotamia after the death of Darius. Ultimately, as has been well said (Cumont, l.c. i. p. 240), it became "the adequate expression of the complex civilization which flourished in the Alexandrian epoch in Armenia, Cappadocia, and Pontus." The very ruin and dispersion of Mithridates Eupator's great armies, which shattered his dreams of an immense Asiatic Empire with this faith for its State religion, carried abroad, no doubt, the worship into places that it might never else have reached.

and in a suitable correlation, which would recommend it to the Roman legionary's mind. Had Mithraism contained nothing but its Supreme Deity—Infinite Time—it would have appealed but little to a race practical even in their abstractions, as when they worshipped Loyalty, and Chastity, and Fear ; and even less, perhaps, when actual time had overlaid the ideal's image with an armour of emblematic oddities. Had it, however, contained nothing but the magic and mummeries of initiation, the sound Roman judgment would have rejected it and left it to women and degenerates. And yet we must be fair. How would a complete stranger to Christianity be struck by our symbolic representations of the Evangelists? Even now, does not some of the imagery of the Catacombs, Christ-Herakles, Christ-Orpheus, seem strange to us? And some seventeenth and eighteenth century "vizationalized" expressions of Ezekiel's or of the Apocalyptic visions have all the grotesqueness of the Mithraic bas-reliefs without their simplicity of intention.

But truly human, between these abstractions and quaint materializations, moved the figure of Mithra, a real "mediator," thus too, between the great God at whom even the rudest could guess, and blinded men, with whom the most spiritual devotee was fain to confess himself a brother. The great mediation was symbolized for the faithful by Mithra's sacrifice of the sacred bull—of all animals the most precious, most divine, to the primitive shepherd-folk of Persia. From the bull's flesh and blood and marrow sprang into being all nature's richest gifts—corn, wine, and fruitful plants. All this is imaged on the Mithraic slab ; the serpent—earth—drinks the divine blood ; the loathly scorpion, servant of Ahriman, strives in vain to poison the origin of life itself. The crow, God's messenger, flies to bid Mithra accomplish his painful labour ; the scene takes place in the grotto that represents heaven's vault, and, through other symbols, too, reminds us of Mithra's connection with the sun—the sun which sprang from the *Petra Genetrix*, or mother-stone, in the mountains, which was venerated in image at all Mithraic altars.

Perfect purity and benevolence were inculcated by this religion with its clean-cut distinction of right and wrong, tending at times towards ascetic abstinence and continence, and emphasizing the dualism of Ahriman and Ormuzd which lived on in Manicheism. But on the whole the cult was sane and joyful, the god was eternally young and buoyant, and above

all, unconquered; though his pursuit and capture of the bull developed into a *Transitus*, a dolorous way to the ultimate sacrifice which has occasioned unlooked-for comparisons with another journey towards death. And he brought light even into the darkness of the other world—for there too Mithra was the judge and mediator, who led souls up from their purgatory into Heaven; and undoubtedly this promised triumph of justice and reward of virtue responded most generously to the moral sense of the god's devotees, and captivated their imaginings of futurity, just as their fancy during life itself was touched by the consecration of all nature in the divine cult—the mountains, and the clear spring for baptism, and the stars, and the great sun. Even the social sense was not forgotten, when the small Mithraic communities admitted their adepts to the love-meal of sacred bread and wine.

“Life to thee, Mithra! Life to me, Flavinus.”

But just now the burden of life seemed far too heavy for his shoulders.

And yet, when the soldiers themselves had noticed the increasing torpor of his brain, alternating with erratic hours of energy, they had more loyally than ever refrained from insubordination or sloth. But the very absence of any need of remonstrance threw him more and more upon himself, and the weariness increased.

One night, when he lay down upon his pile of fleeces, and drew the heavy frieze coverings over him, he felt as though his whole body had been bruised and broken. It seemed almost too exhausting to breathe. And, perhaps most of all significant, in a character so drilled to a rigid rule as was his, he had not had the will to set out his armour in order when he had laid it aside. He flung it down at haphazard on the earth, and with this first infringement of a life-long self-discipline, he felt that some band had suddenly snapped within his universe, almost, in fact, the band that held body and soul together.

At first he was conscious of nothing save exhaustion. The tent-roof drew a dense pall of blackness close above his head, stifling him. The weight of the coverings grew intolerable, and he tried to push them off. But he only succeeded in moving them a little from his shoulders, and then the night-air struck him with a dreadful chill. Too languid to drag the rugs up once more, he crouched further down in the bed and fell into a protracted apathy. After he knew not how long a space, his

whole being seemed to mount and expand with an amazing sense of lightness and freedom of escape. He was outside the tent, now; and though it was still deep night, he felt the scenery which he could not see. In the train of his thoughts, his very body seemed to move, and at last to travel over the well-known country with a prodigious rapidity. Not that his feet trod the paths, or that he was in any actual contact with that rugged soil. A tremendous and silent gale bore him bosomed on itself, aware that he was still recumbent, his knees slightly drawn up, his fingers contracted, his head twisted a little sideways. Only at times he would be lying face to the sky, till at last, the night pressing cold upon his eyeballs, he came to see the stars dancing wildly above him. At times he was prone, and the brushwood and pebbles and shale would race by close beneath his face. As he plunged headlong down the black sweep of fell, he could see the whole wide view beneath and about him; the floor of the valleys surging up to meet him, almost striking him, and sinking so suddenly as to make him gasp when the appalling velocity shifted and whirled him up the opposite fell-slope. The whole country plunged and heaved, plains swelling suddenly into hills, sagging into valleys, in a drunken alternation. At each change of motion from down-rush to up, from ascent to drop, a terrible shock seemed to rack him, starting from his heart, dislocating his entire being, passing beyond him and into the whole of nature. Once, his eyes had been riveted upon a lake, whose livid surface had somehow maintained itself with absolute immobility amid the reeling chaos of blacks and greys. Down he went, and this time met it: but the water, noiselessly and quite intangible, flew violently upwards all around him in a shower of broad flakes of a dull white, and tore madly up into the sky. And he saw that where the lake had been lay a whole new world, infinitely far beneath him, mapped out in greys and blacks, hills and valleys, as before. Over it he hung poised in emptiness for what seemed an interminable pause; then he noticed that this country was in reality a gigantic and rigid face, clay-coloured, and staring up at him with blank, dead eyes that fascinated him. Suddenly, as he gazed, it puckered and crumpled itself into a hideous grin, and fell grimacing back into the mass of tumultuous dale and hill. Once more the reckless gale caught him, and brought him up, at last, against an immense black cliff, and left him there, clinging passionately by hand and foot, to its forward-

hanging face. For the cliff stooped so far above the precipice, that when he climbed, as perforce he straightway did, he lay right back over nothingness. Planting hand and foot alternately in its yielding yet tenacious substance, he hauled himself anxiously up towards its summit. A terrible anxiety, it was, at first: a nervous and almost fretful sensation, as though nature were treating him with a needless churlishness, in that the cliff-face lent itself so little to his climb, and was so black, and had no summit visible. But at each motion of hand and foot, the old dreadful shock, beginning at his heart, struck through him yet more violently; only it left his world motionless, now. Observing this, he was filled with a sudden, unreasoning panic, and began to climb furiously. It was this fear, and the immense exhaustion of his failing heart, that forced out all over his limbs a sweat that froze him. It trickled along his fingers and drenched his sides and spine. . . .

Something shook within him, and the great heart-crashes ceased. He passed quite easily through the vague shadow of the cliff above him, and knew then that he was once more lying, perfectly still, on its crest; within his tent, indeed, but its sides had grown transparent, and he could once more look out upon the country. The first cold lights of dawn had just come, and distance beyond distance of pallid tints heaped themselves into masses of mountains, with the lakes, like steel mirrors, giving back the white sky, smooth amongst them. The very cold wind of daybreak began to set the mists stirring in the valleys, and immense sheets of vapour trailed slowly this way and that, blotting out or revealing the darker shapes of the hills. The pale northern sun was still far below the horizon.

Flavinus sighed twice; he flung out his hands; knelt for a moment on his knees and then fell forward, his face striking the black stone of Mithra as he died.

“Come and put on your stone,” said Maude, tossing her own on to the cairn.

Two of her brothers appeared over the fell-crest.

“What a rate you go at,” said Jack. “Here’s a stone. It’s getting quite a decent cairn by now, isn’t it? All comes of our cutting church so often and fagging up here after you. Awfully rickety, though. I’m going to root up this big lump

and shove it in by way of foundation. Give us a hand, Yvo."

It was Easter Sunday; but the girl and her three brothers had left the church to the village-folk and to their old father, who had occupied the Hall-pew alone. They had escalated the fell just behind the big grey house, the roofs of which were quite clearly visible from the summit, among their dark trees. Cosmo, the youngest brother, had come a little reluctantly and was lagging behind. Still, he considered, he had been to the early service; and he could hardly be churlish towards the other three, so much his elders.

"I say," said Jack, "it's got something cut on it. Where the deuce is Cosmo? Y., make the kid buck up. Cosmo, buck up. You're last from school: what's this?"

Maude was eating Parmesan biscuits and didn't move. Cosmo came up slowly.

"Looks like *Vivas vivam Mithra Flavinus*," he spelt out. "I don't know the meaning of *Mithra*," he said, awkwardly.

"Sounds like 'Live and let live,'" said Yvo, who had had a classical education at Eton, and might be expected to know.

"All alive O!" said Jack, sillily.

"Hurry up and come and have lunch," said Maude. "I've finished all the biscuits years ago. Do let that stupid old stone alone. If we want to go back by the other side of Kidsty, we shall hardly get in before dark, as it is. And the natives'll be awfully shocked if we don't turn up at evening church."

Soon afterwards, Maude was smoking her after-lunch cigarette, and chaffing her brothers in the style which always made Cosmo feel clumsier than ever, for as yet he had not had the advantage of mixing much in society. So he stood a little apart, and cut at a post with his knife, and meanwhile his imagination was standing him in better stead, perhaps, than all the experience of the other three. For, from where he stood, he could easily see the black stone with its inscription, now securely wedged into the cairn. And he thought vaguely, and with a schoolboy sorrow, of the hands that had busied themselves—so long ago—with the pitiful little carving; and of the thoughts in a brain so long since quieted, that had been occupied with that rough block. And he had a confused and comfortless impression of this poor thin soul, whirled away by the backward hurricane of years, carried off into a grey oblivion with so many thousands of which he would never

even hear, like a leaf swept off and away by the death-wind which will not move things heavy and inert, like this carved stone.

His eyes almost filled with tears.

"Of all men most miserable . . ." so the words came back to him.

He tried to piece them into their context in the Easter morning service; but the sentence eluded him.

As he turned to go down the hill once more, bells in the village church below began to ring for the children's service.

"I half wish I were down there," he thought.

JAN DE GEOLLAC.

Mother Teresa, a Martyred Prioress.

I.

AMONG the parishes of Paris, St. Sulpice has, for the last two hundred years, enjoyed the reputation of being the most devout and exemplary. It was not so when, in the seventeenth century, M. Olier, the founder of the well-known Company of secular priests called the Sulpicians, took possession of his post in a district that was looked upon as a sink of iniquity. So evil indeed was its reputation that, if M. Olier's biographers can be believed, in its midst had been erected an altar to Lucifer, where secret homage was paid to the fallen archangel. Matters have changed since those distant days. M. Olier and his disciples did good work among the inhabitants of the ill-famed region and thoroughly transformed it. The present church was erected to replace a small edifice that, in the new state of things, proved insufficient, and to this day, owing probably to the presence and influence of the seminary, religious functions at St. Sulpice are carried out with remarkable regularity and dignity, the church is generally crowded, and even a casual observer cannot fail to notice the atmosphere of devotion that pervades it.

On the 11th, 12th, and 13th of June last, the great church presented an unusual aspect, it was brilliantly lighted and decorated, the best preachers in France had been enlisted to address the assembled multitude, and during the "Triduum" the picture of a Carmelite nun, ascending to Heaven, was suspended triumphantly above the high altar.

These *fêtes* were, on a small scale, a repetition of those that had just taken place in Rome, on the occasion of the beatification of sixteen Carmelite nuns, who during the French Revolution were executed for the faith. Although one and all were heroic, special interest naturally centres in the leader of the devoted band, the Prioress whose image was exhibited in the very church where as an infant she had received holy Baptism. A well-known French orator, when delivering the

panegyric of the martyrs at St. Louis des Français, in Rome, a few days only after their beatification, spoke of her with unqualified admiration, and in truth, after closely studying her character and conduct in times of extreme difficulty, after weighing her spoken and written words in circumstances where a soul less gifted might easily have erred, we feel her to have been, in every respect, a perfect woman. She seems to have united the mystical aspirations of a St. Teresa : a vehement love of penance, a passionate thirst for martyrdom, to the more commonplace qualities of tact, prudence, gentleness, and presence of mind. She was the kindest and wisest of mothers to her daughters and, while keeping before their eyes an ideal heroism, she never exacted more than they could give ; her broad mind and large heart entered into their difficulties ; while her undaunted spirit and strong personal influence braced them up to the supreme sacrifice.

During the years that followed the expulsion of her community, she governed her scattered daughters with a firm yet gentle hand, and to the very last act of the drama, when standing at the foot of the scaffold she speeded them heavenwards, fully conscious of the responsibilities of her office, she asserted them only to take upon herself the largest share of suffering.

No wonder then that in the noble group of martyred Religious her figure stands out with peculiar distinctness, and that, in a certain measure, she may be held responsible for the heroism displayed by the fifteen women who looked to her for guidance and for support under an ordeal of unusual severity.

Madeleine Claudine Lidoine was born in Paris on September 22nd, 1752, in a street called *le petit Lion*, close to the Church of St. Sulpice, where, a few weeks ago, her image was exposed to the veneration of her fellow-citizens.

Her parents belonged to the middle class *bourgeoisie*, her father being employed at the observatory of Paris. They gave their daughter, we are told, a careful education ; indeed, apart from their purely spiritual distinction, Madeleine Lidoine's letters are those of an intelligent and cultured woman ; but their means were limited, and they were unable to pay even the small dowry required by the Carmelites from their postulants.

Public attention had been drawn to the Carmelite Order by the fact that, some years previously, Madame Louise, the King's youngest daughter, had joined the community of St. Denis, and

although the Princess claimed to live unnoticed and forgotten in her self-chosen solitude, it was impossible that she should not exercise some influence in religious circles. Madeleine Lidoine went to consult her on the subject of her vocation; Mother Teresa of St. Augustin, as the royal recluse was now called, was impressed by the aspirant's mental and moral gifts and, unwilling that a question of money should stand in the way of what seemed to her a direct call from Heaven, she applied to her niece, the Dauphiness, on behalf of her *protégée*. Marie Antoinette, the future Queen, willingly entered into her aunt's scheme for benefiting the young girl, and paid her dowry out of her own privy purse.

Madeleine Lidoine never forgot this kindness; out of respect for the royal Carmelite of St. Denis she took the name of Teresa of St. Augustin on entering the convent, and her grateful affection for the royal family was increased and deepened in proportion as its trials became greater. We shall see how, before the revolutionary tribunal, she bravely acknowledged that a picture of the King was amongst her possessions, and who shall say how often the grateful Carmelite's fervent prayers ascended to Heaven on behalf of the unfortunate Queen whose destiny was unrivalled in its tragic horror!

Madeleine Claudine was twenty-one when, in the month of August, 1773, she left her home to join the Carmelite community at Compiègne. The nuns sent one of their outdoor Sisters, Thérèse Soiron, to accompany her; many years later the two were again to travel together by the same road, but this time the end of their journey was to be the hideous guillotine.

The community of which Mdle. Lidoine now became a member was in every respect most exemplary. It was founded at Compiègne in 1641, and, owing to the neighbourhood of the royal palace, where the French Court spent some months every year, was well known to Madame Louise de France. We may suppose, given the interest taken by this princess in Madeleine Lidoine's vocation, that it was she who advised the young girl to seek admittance into a monastery where, as she knew by experience, the rule and spirit of St. Teresa were flourishing.

Several queens of France, Anne of Austria, Maria Teresa, consort of Louis XIV., and, more particularly, Marie Leckzinska, the wife of Louis XV., frequently visited the convent. Marie Leckzinska was on terms of familiar friendship with the nuns,

Sœur Euphrasie, a future martyr, being her special favourite. With the Queen came her daughters, the youngest of whom, Madame Louise, attributed her vocation in great measure to the influence of the Compiègne Carmelites. It was to their Prioress that she applied for a rough serge tunic to wear under her royal robes, and her first plan seems to have been to enter their convent, to which she was drawn by the recollections of her youth. It was the King who suggested that, owing to the close neighbourhood of the Court, his daughter would do wisely to make another choice.

Madeleine Lidoine seems, in a comparatively short time, to have gained her Sisters' esteem and confidence. On November 14, three months after her arrival, she took the habit; eighteen months later, in May, 1775, she was professed, and eleven years afterwards, in 1785, she was elected Prioress, being then only thirty-three years of age.

The Religious who had preceded her as head of the community and who, throughout the tragic years that followed, was her affectionate councillor and support, was a woman of noble birth, Marie Françoise Gabrielle de Croissy—in religion, Mother Henrietta of Jesus. She was a great-niece of the Minister Colbert, and entered the convent when a mere child of sixteen. In 1779, she became Prioress, an office she filled during six years. Then she was appointed Mistress of Novices, a post for which her tender and sympathetic nature seemed peculiarly to qualify her. Sister Mary of the Incarnation, the sole survivor of the community and its first historian, tells us that she proved herself a "true mother" to her spiritual daughters; indeed *la chère mère Henriette* is affectionately mentioned in all the letters that have come down to us.

Between her and Mother Teresa of St. Augustin there existed a perfect understanding, and to their joint influence may be attributed the unflinching courage with which the sixteen blessed victims went to meet suffering and death. Of the Prioress, the same Sister tells us that she was "very hard upon herself, extremely mortified, but fully alive to the necessities of her Sisters. Her own penances she passed off in the eyes of others as good for her health."

Only four years after her election, Madeleine Lidoine was called upon to face difficulties that might have daunted a weaker nature.

Our readers are aware that, almost from the outset, the

proceedings of the *Assemblée Constituante* were marked by a distinctly anti-religious spirit. In a very short space of time the well-meaning, but weak and irresolute King, Louis XVI., was the slave of a political body that he himself had called together, and whose omnipotence speedily reduced his own influence to a mere shadow.

In October, 1789, the *Assemblée* decreed that monks and nuns were, for the present, forbidden to take vows of religion. This measure tended to sap the existence of Religious Orders; it was sanctioned by the King and speedily enforced.

Its application was a grievous sorrow to Jeanne Meunier, Sister Constance, the one novice of the Convent of Compiègne. She was twenty-three years of age¹ and, having taken the habit in December, 1788, counted upon being professed in December, 1789.

Pray very much for your little companion Constance [wrote the Prioress to a friend of the community], alas! I should have had the consolation of receiving her vows to-day (December 15th), if it had not been for the decree, of which I was legally informed three weeks ago. The poor child is in great grief, her mother wants to recall her; we oppose ourselves to this, but I fear she will carry the day. It will be a terrible trial for the child! *Fiat, Fiat!*

The Mother Prioress was right in her forebodings, as far as Sister Constance's family was concerned; her brother was sent by his parents to claim his sister, but he did not "carry the day." At a time when "liberty" was the idol of the people, Sister Constance asserted that she was free to live the life that she pleased and of which a year before her parents had approved. Approaching danger only bound her more closely to the community, with whose fate she had cast her own. Thus the youngest of the group was the first to give an example of steadfast fidelity; just as five years later she was the first to mount, with a hymn of thanksgiving on her lips, the bloody steps of the guillotine.

Although as months passed by, the irreligious tendencies of the Government were more clearly defined, and the situation of religious houses in France became more precarious, life within the Monastery of Compiègne pursued its even tenor. Mother Teresa of St. Augustin fully realized that the existence of her community was at stake, and anxiety for the spiritual and material welfare of her daughters pressed heavily upon her.

¹ Born at St. Denis, in 1766.

But, although conscious of the perils ahead, she was careful not to excite or disturb without necessity the trusting souls who relied implicitly on her guidance, and the jubilee of an aged nun, Sister Charlotte of the Resurrection,¹ was celebrated with the usual festivities. The venerable jubilarian was a general favourite, and on this occasion, writes Sister Mary of the Incarnation, she was able to see "how much she was loved, cherished, and respected" by her Sisters.

In 1790 the *Assemblée Constituante* decided that an inventory should be taken of the Church plate and furniture belonging to the religious houses throughout France, and that, on the same occasion, each member of the community should be privately questioned by the representatives of Government as to whether he or she desired to remain in the convent or to return to the world.

These proceedings were accompanied by the high-flown phrases, affected by the men of the period, but somewhat to their surprise, the "victims" whom they professed themselves anxious to deliver, firmly expressed their wish to remain within their cloistered homes. The fact is all the more to be noticed, because of the prevalent, and not altogether unjustifiable idea, that religious vocations in the eighteenth century were often a matter of convenience or policy.

At Compiègne, the nuns, one and all, protested that they had but one desire, to continue their religious life on the same lines as before. These voluntary captives hugged their chains and unanimously rejected the offers of their so-called "deliverers." Their interview with the members of the *directoire* of the district of Compiègne took place on August 5th, 1790; at the head of the deputation was a renegade Cluniac monk, in whom the answers of the nuns must surely have awakened feelings of shame and remorse!

The official document still exists, where the Carmelites' protestations are recorded; the same spirit inspired them all, but their answers vary according to the individual character of each one. They appeared separately before the officials, and the Prioress opened the proceedings by declaring that she wished "to live and die in this holy house." The Sub-Prioress and the greater number of the nuns made use of almost the same words: Sœur Euphrasie de l'Immaculée Conception,² Marie Leckzinska's special friend, whose warm-hearted, some-

¹ Born in 1715.

² Born in 1736.

what proud and impatient nature, stands revealed in her letters, protested that she had become a Religious of her own free will and intended to remain one at the cost of her life: Mother Henrietta, the Novice Mistress, that she was glad of this opportunity to renew the promises that bound her to the Order. She had expressed the same thought in some verses, of which she laid a copy before her questioners. The lay-Sisters were no less resolute: the youngest, Juliette Verolot,¹ who had been professed the previous year, protested that she wished to remain with "Our Lord Jesus, her Divine Spouse." The same young Sister, a peasant girl from Champagne, had been warned by the Prioress before her profession that evil days were at hand for Religious Orders: "My dear good mother," she replied, "do not be anxious about me, *le bon Dieu* will take care of me."

The Government continued to assume the right of interfering in the interior organization of the convent; it decided that new elections should take place, and, contrary to the established custom of the Order, that the lay-Sisters should now have a vote. However much they may have resented this impertinent interference, the Carmelites had to obey, but the result of the new elections only emphasized their perfect union. Mother Teresa of St. Augustin was unanimously chosen as Prioress, a new proof that her Sisters felt implicit confidence in her ability to face the approaching storm.

Although the rising tide of revolution and anarchy was rapidly undermining the ancient institutions in the kingdom, the Carmelites spent the end of 1791 and the first months of 1792 in comparative tranquillity. They were aware that the political horizon was full of peril, but they pursued their course with a serenity born of blind submission to and absolute reliance on God's holy will. The priests, whose fidelity exposed them to constant persecution, the anxious Catholics of Compiègne, whose souls were disturbed by the sense of a close and deadly peril, were frequent visitors at the convent *grille*, and the nuns' steady courage and supernatural calmness exercised a powerful influence outside their convent walls.

At last, in the summer of 1792, a long-dreaded blow fell: the *Assemblée* decided that all the religious houses in France should be sold for the benefit of the State, and, in consequence, their inmates expelled before October 1st.

Sister Mary of the Incarnation tells us that the nuns

¹ Born in 1764.

unanimously resolved to continue their lives as Carmelites, under the rule of their Prioress, but, being prevented from living under the same roof, they divided into four groups, and, after leaving their convent home with many tears, took up their abode in lodgings that Mother Teresa had hired in the town of Compiègne, close to the Church of St. Antoine. These lodgings still exist in much the same state as when they were occupied by the expelled Religious. One group was presided over by Mother Teresa of St. Augustin, in whose rooms food was prepared for the community, the faithful out-door Sister, Thérèse Soiron, acting as messenger. In another house was the Sub-Prioress and three companions; Mother Henrietta of Jesus, the Mistress of Novices, governed the third and fourth groups, who lived in different parts of the same building.

Having thus, to the best of her ability, provided for the material necessities of her daughters, the Mother Prioress organized their spiritual life. The parish priest of St. Antoine had taken the schismatical oath, but he seems to have been moved by the desolate condition of the expelled and despoiled Carmelites, and he allowed their chaplain, the Abbé Courouble, to say Mass in his church, and even appointed one of the chapels to be kept for their special use. The nuns were thus able to approach the sacraments as usual. In their poor lodgings they continued to observe their Rule as closely as possible, deferring to the advice and decision of the Prioress in all matters, great and small. A few days only after she had left her monastery, Mother Teresa was called upon to take an important resolution, the meaning of which would scarcely be grasped by our readers without a brief digression.

During the French Revolution, as during the religious persecutions in our own country, the faithful Catholics were, at different times, called upon to take certain oaths. Some of these were harmless, others doubtful, others distinctly schismatical.

Among the latter was the *Constitution Civile du Clergé*, that aimed at separating the French clergy from the Holy See; it was condemned by Pope Pius VI. at the very outset of the Revolution, and hundreds of faithful priests suffered poverty, exile, and death rather than lend themselves to an act of apostasy. No doubt or hesitation was possible where the *Constitution Civile du Clergé* was concerned, but another oath, required from all persons pensioned by the State, became a

subject of controversy. It was called the *serment liberté, égalité*, and ran thus: "I swear to maintain liberty and equality, to be faithful to the nation, and to die at my post." The formula sounds harmless enough; it was merely ridiculous when required from women, and we cannot be surprised that M. Emery, the Superior of St. Sulpice, a leading member of the French clergy, declared that any Catholic might lawfully take it. The representatives of Mgr. de Juigné, the exiled Archbishop of Paris, M. Rigaud, Superior of the Carmelites of Compiègne, and the Abbé Courouble, their chaplain, held similar views, and the Holy See having refrained from giving any decision on the subject, the question seemed an open one. There was indeed, in certain parts of France, in the south especially, a very strong feeling against this apparently harmless formula, but the immediate advisers of the Carmelites being of a different opinion, the nuns might be naturally supposed to side with them, in fact the Abbé Rigaud sent them a message to the effect that they might in all safety take the oath if required to do so. After the confiscation of their property, the dispossessed Religious were entitled to a small pension, and this brought them under the head of the citizens from whom the *serment liberté, égalité* might be demanded.

In spite, however, of the well-known opinion of the Paris clergy, in spite of M. Rigaud's reassuring message, the Prioress had an instinctive repugnance to the oath, and was in no way prepared to take it. Only a few days after she had settled herself and her companions in their new abode, she received a visit from M. de Cayrol, the Mayor of Compiègne, a timid and well-meaning man, who begged her to assemble the community, as he had an important communication to make to the nuns. She complied, and, when the Sisters were gathered together, M. de Cayrol, after reminding them that, being pensioned by the State, they were called upon to take the oath *liberté, égalité*, asked them to sign their names in a register that he had brought with him. The Mother Prioress noticed that the page was blank. She drew the Mayor's attention to this fact, adding that if he intended them to take the oath neither she nor her Sisters were prepared to do so. He replied that "there was no question of their taking the oath," that he simply wished them to promise not "to disturb public peace." "In good faith," he added, "so how can this alarm your conscience?" Hesitating still, but trusting to her visitor's honesty, the Mother Prioress

wrote her name, and her companions did likewise. A few days afterwards she was secretly informed how the Mayor had filled up the blank space with the formula of the oath that the Carmelites were now supposed to have taken. In acting thus his object doubtless was to protect women whom he respected, without putting himself in danger, but the Mother Prioress, indignant at being deceived, wished to protest against the unfair use made of her name. Her friends, however, implored her not to come forward; the danger ahead was getting every day more pressing, and, yielding to their entreaties, she consented, for the present, to keep silent, for fear of compromising her community. We shall see how, when she no longer could be accused of endangering her companions' safety, she fearlessly retracted what was, after all, but an apparent concession, obtained by fraud, on a point that was and is still a doubtful one.

The responsibilities of her office at this point of her history weighed heavily on Mother Teresa. In November, 1792, her chaplain, l'Abbé Courouble, was without the slightest reason expelled from Compiègne: the parish churches were in the hands of schismatics with whom their conscience forbade the Sisters to have any dealings, and the faithful priests, dispossessed of their posts, could only exercise their ministry in secret, at the risk of their liberty and their lives. It is probable that from time to time the nuns heard Mass privately; the present inhabitants of one of the houses that they lived in at Compiègne report that, according to tradition, Mass was said in their rooms at the time "when there were no churches," but these occasions were necessarily few and far between, and we may safely say that the deprivation of the spiritual consolations they had hitherto enjoyed was the Carmelites' heaviest cross.

The Prioress did her best to keep up a religious spirit among her daughters. We have a letter written by her during the dreary winter of 1792—93 to the Sub-Prioress, who lived in a different house. It proves with what steadfast faithfulness she clung to the observance of the Rule, how firmly she insisted that, in their spiritual desolation, her children should keep to their usual practices of devotion and penance, yet how far removed she was from scrupulosity or undue anxiety.

My dear Sister and beloved daughter, . . . let us do the best we can, but only as far as we can and without any scruple, for it is quite certain that present circumstances entail exceptions that a sincere heart

cannot but recognize, but of which a faithful heart is loth to take undue advantage.

Her Sisters entered into her views with admirable generosity, several among them received urgent letters from their families, begging them to come home and pointing out that, in the present state of anarchy, they were doubly exposed to danger if they continued to live together. But they were unanimous in their resolve not to separate, and even the novices and the outdoor Sisters, who were bound by no vows, declined to make use of their freedom.

Encouraged by her companions' unflinching devotion to a state of life that in more peaceful times they had freely embraced, Mother Teresa spoke to them of what, for some months past, had occupied her thoughts. She seems to have had a clear and distinct foreboding of the fate that awaited her community, and the prospect of a martyr's death filled her with joy. She was anxious that her Sisters should be not only submissive but *voluntary* victims, and she suggested that henceforth they should daily offer themselves to God in expiation for the crimes of their country, thereby entering into the spirit of St. Teresa, who never ceased reminding her daughters that by prayer and suffering they might be apostles.

Their Mother's proposal was gladly accepted by the community, only two aged nuns were terrified by the idea of the guillotine and its attendant horrors. Here, again, the large mind and loving heart of the Prioress revealed themselves; she knew that the repulsion expressed by the venerable Religious was a purely physical impression, and she gently soothed instead of upbraiding them. The consequence was that a few hours later the Sisters came back, full of contrition at the remembrance of their momentary weakness and eager to make their sacrifice with the rest.

Henceforth the mainspring of the Carmelites' prayers and actions was the idea of death, accepted as an expiation for the crimes of France. It became their constant thought; all their efforts tended to prepare for the final sacrifice, and, from the last months of 1792, when the offering was first made, to the fatal 17th of July, 1794, when it was accepted, they lived, so to speak, in presence of the scaffold. No wonder then that, when the summons came, they went to meet the fate they expected and desired, with the calmness born of long habit and perfect acquiescence.

BARBARA DE COURSON.

The School System in Canada.

IN view of the present controversy over the Education Bill in the British Parliament, some idea of how the school problem has been worked out in one of the newer British democracies will no doubt be interesting and instructive. This is especially the case since some supporters of the present English Bill have appealed to the example of the younger British communities, while others, though admitting the theoretical justice of Catholic claims, profess to believe that no workable scheme can be devised for satisfying them. Let us see how and to what extent the Ontario system meets on the one hand the Catholic demand for Catholic schools under Catholic teachers and Catholic supervision, and on the other the demand for complete popular control.

In dealing with this question it is well to note at the outset that there is no uniform school system throughout Canada. In the negotiations leading up to Confederation in 1867, it was found necessary, for reasons based on racial and religious facts, to leave the matter of education, with certain important reservations, to be dealt with by the provincial legislatures. Though the systems of the various provinces differ in many particulars, there is amongst the Protestant portion of the population a marked preference for what is called the public or common school system, and these schools have been established in every province outside of Quebec. If in discussing this subject most attention is devoted to the Ontario system, it is because what is most characteristic of the Canadian schools has reached its highest and best development in that province. Besides, this is the portion of Canada that most resembles England in population, religion, political, and social conditions; and whether Canadian experience in dealing with this difficult question can shed any light on the present controversy in England, will most readily appear after an examination of the Ontario system.

In the beginning it is necessary to define the terms used in Canada to designate the different classes of primary schools. There are first the public or common schools, to which are admitted free and on equal terms children of any and every religion or of no religion at all. There is no definite religious instruction given in these schools, but good morals and the ordinary civic virtues are supposed to be inculcated. Those not satisfied with the purely secular education given in the public schools may, in provinces where provision has been made for such, establish what are called separate schools, and supporters of these schools are exempted from public school rates. In Quebec there are Protestant separate schools, but everywhere else in Canada all Protestant sects are united in support of the public schools, an occasional protest from some Anglican clergyman against the purely secular education given in the public schools being the only objection heard amongst Protestants. In this respect the situation in Canada differs radically from that of England, where Anglicans as well as Catholics demand church schools. The Catholics of Canada find no fault with Protestants for preferring public schools, but they have always claimed the right to establish and support schools embodying Catholic ideas of education, and have never failed to resent any attempt to impose on them the purely secular system that finds such favour with their Protestant fellow-citizens.

As the working of the Ontario school system is intimately connected with municipal government, it is perhaps necessary briefly to outline the latter in order to give the English reader a clear idea of local conditions. The Ontario counties, which correspond in size with the English shires, are divided for municipal purposes into townships, incorporated villages, towns, and cities. Each township elects yearly a council of five members, who look after local affairs such as the building and maintenance of roads, public health, and rural municipal affairs generally. Incorporated villages, towns, and cities have their own councils, greater in number in the case of cities, but with similar powers and functions. Each county has also a county council, consisting generally of two representatives from each township, village, and town in the county, the cities not coming under the jurisdiction of the county councils.

For public school purposes each township is divided into sections, which vary in number according to the size of the

township. The ratepayers of each section elect three trustees, who hold office for three years, one trustee being elected annually. These trustees form a corporate body, with power to borrow money on the credit of the section to build, equip, and maintain a school, hire teachers, and administer the school generally according to rules and regulations of the provincial department of education. The revenues of a rural school are derived from the following sources :

1. The sum of \$150 or \$300 per year for every school engaging one teacher, and \$100 or \$200 extra per year for every assistant teacher, the larger amounts being paid when the average public school assessment of the township is \$30,000 or more. This revenue is derived from a uniform tax levied on all public school supporters of the township. By making wealthy sections bear part of the burden of poorer ones this scheme tends towards equalization of rates.

2. An additional tax levied on the ratepayers of each section. The amount so collected will depend upon how much revenue, apart from other sources, will be needed to meet current expenses. With a view of increasing the salaries of teachers in rural schools, it was enacted at the last session of the legislature that a sum varying from \$50 to \$200, and graduated according to assessment of the section, should be raised in this way, and that this sum, along with the amount mentioned in (1), should be devoted exclusively to the payment of teachers' salaries. Both these taxes are collected for the trustees by municipal officers.

3. An annual grant from the provincial treasury, based on attendance, equipment, &c. The amount of this grant is not large, perhaps one-fifteenth of the total revenue of the school.

4. An annual grant from the county council, which must at least equal that received from the provincial treasury.

Public schools in incorporated villages and towns derive their revenue from the sources mentioned in 2, 3, and 4. City public schools must depend on sources mentioned in 2 and 3.

In incorporated villages and towns the public schools are administered by a board of six trustees elected for two years, half of whom are elected annually. In cities the public school board consists of two trustees from each ward, one of whom is elected annually. The powers and duties of school boards in towns and cities are the same as those of rural trustees. The

course of study, the qualifications of teachers, the text-books, hours of study, methods of teaching, are prescribed by the Minister of Education. The public schools are free to children of all classes and creeds. The school day begins with the reading of a portion of Scripture and the repeating of the Lord's Prayer; otherwise there is no definite religious instruction within school hours. In a purely Protestant section the atmosphere of the school will of course be Protestant; on the other hand, there are some public schools in Catholic communities, which have Catholic trustees and Catholic teachers, and in these schools the atmosphere will be Catholic, and religious instruction may be given. The Ontario public school system is flexible in this way, and it occasionally happens that a rural public school in a Catholic community differs from a Catholic separate school in scarcely more than name, and continues to be a public school, when, if the ratepayers of the section so desired, it could readily be changed into a separate school.

But if the Catholic people of any community, rural or urban, finding themselves numerous enough to support a separate school, resolve to have one, any five persons, being heads of families, may call a meeting and proceed to organize a Catholic school. Trustees are elected, whose number, duties, and powers, are the same as those of public school trustees. Of course a new school must be built and equipped. There is some inequality here, inasmuch as Catholics who helped to build the public school they formerly supported, now have to undertake the building of a new separate school. This initial inequality is the only one, however, that exists. In the case of a public school supported entirely by Catholics being turned into a separate school, there being no further use for the public school building as such, it is sold for a nominal sum to the newly-elected separate school trustees. Any Catholic who lives within three miles in a direct line from a rural separate school may, if he wishes, become a separate school supporter, but no Catholic is obliged by law to support a Catholic separate school, nor is a Protestant allowed to do so even if he should so desire. Catholics who have signified to the municipal authorities their desire to be rated as separate school supporters, are thereafter exempted from public school rates. The revenue of a rural separate school is derived from three sources: (1) a tax levied on the separate school supporters of the section. As in the

case of public schools, this tax is collected by the municipal officers. (2) A grant from the provincial treasury similar in every way to that given to the public schools. (3) A grant from the county council similar to the corresponding one received by the public schools. The revenue of an urban separate school is derived from the sources mentioned in (1) and (2). Of the school taxes of corporations and joint stock companies, a portion proportionate to the amount of stock held therein by Catholics may be paid to the separate schools. The school taxes of any property owned by a Protestant but leased to a Catholic, may be paid to a separate school. Thus there is in Ontario what has been called in England a system of "allocation" of Catholic rates to Catholic schools.

The course of secular study, the qualifications of teachers, the text-books with few exceptions, the hours of study, the methods of teaching, are the same as for public schools. The teachers of course must be Catholics. The separate schools are inspected by Catholic inspectors, appointed by the Minister of Education, and the schools are administered generally in a manner similar to that of public schools. Members of Religious Orders possessing the necessary qualifications may teach in the separate schools, and at present they constitute a majority of the urban separate school teachers of the province. Protestants are allowed to establish a separate school only where the teacher of the public school is a Catholic. There are in Ontario at present about five hundred Catholic separate schools, and their number is increasing annually, while the Protestant separate schools could be counted on the fingers of one hand. So far as Ontario is concerned a separate school is almost synonymous with a Catholic school.

In this way there has been worked out in Ontario a system of Catholic schools which works harmoniously side by side with the public school system, and satisfies the demand of the Catholic minority without inflicting any grievance on the Protestant majority. At the same time, as has been shown, popular control of the Catholic schools is just as complete as in the case of the public schools. The perfectly satisfactory working of these systems has brought that educational peace so ardently desired by Mr. Birrell. Here, indeed, are "national shelters" against those "devastating blasts of sectarian differences," well worthy of the consideration of the Minister of Education.

Of course some objections are urged in Ontario against separate schools. The most frequent criticism is that they separate on the basis of faith children who otherwise would mingle together during school years. But this objection is plausible rather than valid. Again, we are told that in a separate school system, Catholics enjoy a privilege granted to no Protestant denomination. But if the Protestants of Ontario prefer a purely secular system of schools, they should willingly concede to Catholics the system that suits them best. Another objection is that in rural districts the establishing of a separate school weakens the neighbouring public schools and makes increasingly difficult the problem of maintaining efficient schools in thinly settled communities. But whatever weight this objection has in Ontario, it could have none in England, where population is vastly denser, and where the Catholic people are almost entirely confined to the cities. A separate school system is easily and efficiently worked in towns and cities, and a consideration of Ontario's experience convinces one that in England, with its great urban population, systems of Catholic and of Anglican separate schools would work no injustice to Nonconformists or be any handicap to them in supporting any system they desired.

The right of Catholics to have and maintain Catholic separate schools was established in Canada only after many contests and agitations extending over the last sixty years. After the rebellion of 1837, Great Britain resolved to grant Canada self-government. By an Imperial act, the French Catholic province of Lower Canada, now called Quebec, was united with the English Protestant province of Upper Canada, now Ontario, and given a common Parliament in which both provinces had an equal number of representatives. Thus started on her career of autonomy, Canada began laying the foundations of the institutions that have since been developing, and one of the first questions to press for settlement was that of popular education. On account of the radically different conditions of the two provinces, the Parliament of the time set itself to devise one scheme for Ontario and another for Quebec. The idea of a purely secular system of public schools was then almost unknown, and altogether untried; and when the first schools were established in Ontario it was debated whether or not Bible study should constitute part of the curriculum. In these circumstances, the Catholic minority demanded the right to establish separate schools.

Though the right to do so was at once recognized, many years passed before a workable system was devised, and in the meantime advocates of separate schools were destined to meet strong opposition from the Protestant majority, amongst whom as time passed opinion crystallized in favour of one system of secular public schools. But in 1863 the minority in Ontario, aided by their co-religionists of Quebec, succeeded in having a Bill passed which embodied nearly all the features of the Catholic school system of Ontario as it exists to-day. In the meantime the Protestant minority of Quebec had obtained the right to establish Protestant separate schools under terms even more generous than those accorded the minority in Ontario. Thus the school question in these two provinces had assumed a well-defined position when the scheme for the confederation of all the British North American colonies began to be seriously discussed. In view of the coming change, the question that most concerned the minority of each province was how they could best preserve the rights already acquired.

How these privileges were to be secured turned upon the question whether the union would be a Federal or a legislative one. In a legislative union, control over the peculiar institutions of French Canada, its language, laws, and education would be vested in a Parliament that would be dominated by an unsympathetic, and perhaps a hostile, majority. To this proposition Quebec opposed an invincible resolution, and to meet her objections a Federal union was adopted. By this arrangement each province would retain control over its local affairs, education included. But here a new difficulty arose. The English Protestant minority of Quebec were not minded to accept French Catholic provincial control over their schools, and insistently demanded that their separate school privileges should be expressly guaranteed in the new constitution. As the Catholic minority of Ontario were desirous of a similar guarantee of their right to Catholic schools, the matter was arranged, and the compact appears as Section 93 of the British North America Act. It reads as follows :

In and for each province the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions :

(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the union.

(2) All the powers, privileges, and duties at the union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects, shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.

(3) Where in any province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the union, or is thereafter established by the legislature of the province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

(4) In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority on that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.

By the terms of this Section there is under the Canadian constitution a divided sovereignty in the important sphere of education, and this explains how it often happens that a school controversy originating in one province is brought into the Federal arena, and becomes a subject of debate throughout the country. Such a provision was bound to cause trouble until such time as, by practice and interpretation by the courts, the powers of the provincial and the Federal authorities were accurately determined. This Section has very effectively protected separate schools in Ontario. It is true that a portion of the population chafes under these restrictions, and there have been agitations to hamper and cripple, if not actually to abolish, separate schools, but the result has always been disastrous to the party advocating that policy. In Quebec the minority have not only separate primary schools but also separate high and normal schools, and the Protestants of that province gratefully acknowledge the generous treatment accorded them and their representatives in Parliament, and are generally found supporting the rights of Catholic minorities in other provinces. Neither in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia did the Catholic schools possess any legal status when, with Ontario and Quebec, these provinces united to form the Confederation of 1867. In Catholic communities of New Brunswick, however, Catholic

schools had been established, recognized, and assisted by the provincial authorities. But in 1871 these privileges were withdrawn, and in consequence Catholics appealed for redress to the Federal authorities. The appeal failed for the reason that at Confederation the Catholic schools had no legal recognition in the province, nor had they subsequently acquired such status. But shortly afterwards a very practical arrangement was made, which prevails to-day in New Brunswick and in Nova Scotia, and operates to the great advantage of the Catholic people. In cities and towns Catholics build, equip, and own their schools, which are then rented to the public school trustees, who hire and pay the salaries of the required number of Catholic teachers. In these schools religious instruction is given, and members of Religious Orders possessing the necessary qualifications are allowed to teach therein. The Catholics of these two provinces speak well of this arrangement, though of course it lacks the permanent security that a constitutional guarantee of separate schools would confer.

The terms of Section 93 of the British North America Act are very precise and definite in respect to the four original provinces of the union, or to any province afterwards entering the union, which was like them an organized, self-governing, political entity prior to its admission; and so in these provinces the status of separate schools was definitely settled years ago. The recent contests over this question have arisen in connection with the provinces created out of the great domain which lies between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, and which was acquired by the Dominion in 1870 from the Hudson Bay Company. Now it is obvious that any province, created out of territory already owned by the Dominion, possesses on its entry into the union a status quite different from that of the original provinces. Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta came into the union at times and on terms fixed by the Dominion Parliament. British Columbia stipulated the terms upon which she would enter, and was free to accept or reject any proposal. As Section 93 was drafted with no reference to the altered conditions that the acquisition of the West would bring, it becomes vague and indefinite when applied in these circumstances. But the Dominion Parliament has power to fix the constitutions of the provinces it creates out of its territory, and it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier's determination to interpret

and reinforce Section 93 in its application to Alberta and Saskatchewan—so as to make it guarantee the separate school system existing there—that caused the violent agitation of a year ago.

But before discussing this question it will be in place to review the history of Manitoba separate schools. Before the acquisition of the Hudson Bay Territory by the Dominion, some hardy French Catholic pioneers had penetrated into that lone land and established themselves along the Red River. In 1870 this settlement was erected into the province of Manitoba. At that time it was in doubt whether the province would develop as a Catholic or as a Protestant province, and when in fixing its constitution it was proposed to guarantee separate schools, there was a ready acquiescence to the proposal by all classes and creeds. As the schools established by the Red River settlers had no legal status prior to 1870, it became necessary, in order to guarantee separate schools, to alter Section 93 in so far as its application to Manitoba was concerned. This was done by inserting the words "or practice" after the word "law" in the first subsection. At the time this was regarded as an unfailing guarantee of either Catholic or Protestant rights in regard to separate schools; but when in later years, through immigration from Ontario, the province had developed along Protestant lines and the right to separate schools was ruthlessly swept away, it was seen that this constitutional guarantee was powerless to protect them.

The later eighties and early nineties were a time of exceptional tension in regard to racial and religious issues in Canada, and a wave of anti-Catholic prejudice swept over the country. Politically, this movement showed itself in an attack on separate schools and the official use of the French language. And as is generally the case, there were not wanting politicians ready to turn the animosities of the time to their own political ends. Under the specious plea that the separate schools of the province were inefficient—a plea which, had it been founded on fact, would have reflected on the Government itself, for, having control over the secular studies, it had full power to make the schools efficient—the Manitoba legislature passed an Act abolishing separate schools. The constitutionality of this Act was at once questioned and tested in the courts. Finally, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declared that the Act was within the power of the province, inasmuch as neither by

law nor practice had the Catholic minority a system of separate schools prior to the entry of Manitoba into the union—such schools as were there being supported by the voluntary contributions of the different communions—and that the only right the minority had under the constitution was the right to establish and maintain voluntary schools. On a second appeal, however, the Judicial Committee declared that in abolishing separate schools the Government had created a grievance which the Federal authorities might intervene to redress, but what form the remedial measure should take was left to be determined by the authorities to whom it had been committed by the statute.

In this manner, and at a rather critical time, the matter came before the Conservative Administration at Ottawa in 1895. After much hesitation and delay, due to dissensions in the Cabinet, the Government introduced legislation to compel Manitoba to restore separate schools. The proposed legislation was defective in some ways, but since it embodied the principle of separate schools, it was generally accepted by Catholics as a fair instalment of justice. Mr. Laurier, who was then leader of the Liberal Opposition, declared that whilst he had no sympathy with the harsh methods by which the minority in Manitoba had been shorn of its rights, yet, considering the fact that the highest court of the realm had declared the Act of 1890 to be within the power of the Manitoba Legislature, he did not deem it prudent to coerce a defiant province. He further declared that if given a mandate by the people he would seek a settlement of the vexed question by conciliation and negotiation with the Manitoba Government. As the remedial legislation had been introduced in the dying hours of Parliament, it failed to pass before Parliament dissolved itself by the lapse of time, with the result that the school question became the paramount issue in the elections that followed. The Conservatives were defeated, and Mr. Laurier became Premier. After a period of negotiation the Manitoba Government granted some minor concessions to the minority. It was provided that where the average attendance of Catholic children is ten or more in a rural school, or twenty-five in a village school, religious instruction may be given by a clergyman or his authorized representative between 3.30 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon. In schools in towns and cities where the attendance of Catholic children is forty or upwards, the trustees shall, if required, engage a Catholic teacher, who shall give religious instruction

to the Catholic pupils after 3.30 in the afternoon, but no separation of pupils according to religion shall be allowed during the hours of secular study.

It is unnecessary to say that these trifling concessions failed to satisfy the minority. Mr. Laurier confessed that he was disappointed with the result, but declared that he had done his best to get more. In the rural school sections where Catholics predominate they are able to elect Catholic trustees, hire Catholic teachers, and make use of these concessions to give religious instruction to their children. But in large centres of population like Winnipeg the Catholics feel constrained to support parochial schools in addition to paying the public school rates. Several efforts have been made to bring about such a working arrangement with the public school board as exists in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but so far these negotiations have been fruitless. But the determination of the Catholics of that city to maintain Catholic schools has evoked the admiration and respect of their fellow-citizens, and doubtless in time this feeling will lead to an amicable settlement whereby Catholics will be relieved of the double burden.

The remainder of the former Hudson Bay Territory, which was last year erected into the two new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, has also a separate school history. In 1875 the Dominion Parliament found it necessary to provide for a limited measure of self-government in this great territory, and in that year there was established a provisional territorial government, endowed with power to pass ordinances, which had the force of laws when sanctioned by the Federal authority. When this legislation was introduced, it was observed that no mention was made of separate schools. The Hon. Edward Blake, who now represents South Longford in the Imperial Parliament, was then Canadian Minister of Justice, and in that capacity had charge of the new legislation. On his attention being called to the omission, he declared that he had entirely overlooked the school question, but added that he would draft a school clause, and have it embodied in the Bill on its Second Reading. Continuing, Mr. Blake said that as the future population of the territories promised to be much the same as that of Ontario, it was best to establish at once the system that experience had proved to be satisfactory in that province. Subsequently the following clause was inserted, and the Bill passed the House of Commons unanimously :

As soon as any system of taxation shall be adopted in any district or portion of the North-west Territories, the Lieutenant-Governor or Assembly, as the case may be, shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education, and it shall therein be always provided that a majority of ratepayers in any district may establish such schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessments and rates therefore; and further, that the minority of ratepayers therein, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, may establish separate schools therein.

Under this guarantee separate schools were established in the Territories and were accorded full freedom till 1890. About that time the agitation that swept away minority rights in Manitoba made itself felt in the North-west also, and resulted in legislation restrictive of separate schools. The text-books, qualifications of teachers, &c., were brought under the direct control of the legislature, and it was further enacted that no religious instruction should be given in any separate school till after 3.30 in the afternoon. These restrictions were embodied in Chapters 29 and 30 of the ordinances of the North-west Territories. But the essential features of a separate school system remained, and though working in narrow limits, Catholic schools continued to exist. The great immigration into these territories during the past decade made it imperative for the Dominion to grant provincial autonomy; and in this connection the school question, quiescent before, became in a twinkling the subject of agitation and acrimonious debate throughout the country.

In dealing with this subject two courses were open to the Government: (1) to apply without change Section 93 of the British North America Act to the new provinces, and if it guaranteed separate schools, well and good; if not, then whether separate schools should continue to exist in the provinces would depend on the will of the legislatures; (2) to interpret and re-enforce Section 93 so as to place the abolition of separate schools beyond the power of the legislatures. The first had been an easy way out of the difficulty, and such a course would have satisfied the exponents of "provincial rights," who subsequently used this catchword to mask their hostility to Catholic schools; but from the standpoint of Catholics this would have been a very defective policy, for it is very doubtful if Section 93 unchanged would guarantee minority rights, and the Manitoba experience had taught Catholics the futility of

relying on provincial legislatures for justice in the matter of education. The difficulty in this connection was that the words "the province" and "at the union," as used in Section 93, would have no definite meaning when applied to the new provinces. "The province" could not exist before the passing of the Act calling it into existence; and a court of law might interpret "at the union" to mean 1870, the date on which Canada acquired the Territories, instead of 1905, when provincial autonomy was granted. Such an interpretation would virtually mean the abolition of separate schools, for there was no system of separate schools in the Territories prior to 1870, and hence, with such an interpretation, there would be no separate school system that Section 93 could guarantee, and nothing upon which to base an appeal to the Federal authorities in case minority rights were abrogated. If it were granted that Section 93 should be uniformly applied to all provinces, the opponents of separate schools had the better of the argument on the constitutional side of the case; but the advocates of separate schools adduced a very strong moral argument in support of their demands. The Parliament of 1875 deliberately, unanimously, and with the intention of settling the question then, had made provision for separate schools. On the strength of this guarantee Catholics had taken up their residence in the Territories, and, as was shown in the debate last year, the immigration agents of the Dominion had used this argument to induce Catholics to settle in the West. For the Dominion Government lightly to cast off the moral obligation thus incurred would have been a failure to perform a plain duty, especially in view of the fact that the Dominion Parliament had been empowered by Imperial enactment to create new provinces and determine their constitutions.

When the Autonomy Bills, as the proposed legislation was called, were introduced by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in February of last year, it was seen that, not only were separate school rights to be perpetuated in the new provinces, but also, though not professedly so, the restrictions imposed on separate schools by the territorial ordinances were swept away. These proposals were received with indignation and surprise by many ultra-Protestants of Ontario, who, because Sir Wilfrid Laurier had deemed it inexpedient or unwise to coerce Manitoba in 1896, had imagined that he was opposed to separate schools in principle. Immediately a violent agitation was set afoot to

force the withdrawal of the school clauses. It was objected that the proposed legislation meant the restoration of the "clerically controlled" separate schools that had been regulated by the restricting ordinances. It was also stated that the provision by which separate schools were to share in the proceeds of sales of land set apart for school purposes, would empower Catholics to exact a proportionate share, if at any future time the legislatures should allot a portion of these lands as endowment for provincial universities. During the agitation it was very noticeable that the most vehement opponents of separate schools were, not the people of the new provinces who were directly concerned, but citizens of Toronto and Ontario, which gave colour to the belief that much of the opposition manifested was inspired by political motives and a desire to embarrass a Catholic Premier, who was but dealing out plain justice to his co-religionists. But there was also a strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction in a portion of the Liberal party, and this feeling was accentuated by the resignation of Mr. Sifton, Minister of the Interior. After two or three weeks of delay, the Government found it necessary to amend the original Bills. The import of the amendment was to perpetuate the separate school system as restricted by the territorial ordinances of 1901. As the amended clauses embodied the separate school principle, preserved all its essential features, and guaranteed a system efficient from a secular point of view and subject only to restrictions that may be relaxed or repealed in the future, the Bills thus amended were accepted by advocates of separate schools, passed the House of Commons by a vote of two to one, and became law. The educational clauses as originally drafted and as amended are given below :

ORIGINAL CLAUSES.

1. The provisions of Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, shall apply to the said province as if, at the date upon which this Act comes into force, the territory comprised therein were already a province, the expression, "the union," in the said section being taken to mean the said date.

2. Subject to the provisions of the said Section 93, and in continuance of the principles heretofore sanctioned under the N. W. Territories Act, it is enacted that the legislature of the said province shall pass all necessary laws in respect to education, and that it shall therein always be provided (a) that a majority of the ratepayers of any district or

portion of the said province, or of any less portion or sub-division thereof, by whatever name it is known, may establish such schools therein as they think fit, and make the necessary assessments and collection of rates therefore, and (*b*) that the minority of ratepayers therein, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish separate schools therein, and make the necessary assessments and collection of rates therefore, and (*c*) that in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessment of such rates as they impose on themselves with respect thereto.

3. In the appropriation of public moneys by the legislature in aid of education, and in the distribution of any moneys paid to the government of the said province arising from the school fund established by the Dominion Lands Act, there shall be no discrimination between the public schools and separate schools, and such moneys shall be applied to the support of the public and separate schools in equitable shares or proportion.

AS AMENDED.

Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, shall apply to the said province, with a substitution for sub-section 1 of said Section 93 of the following sub-section :

1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to separate schools which any class of persons have at the date of the passing of this Act, under the terms of Chapters 29 and 30 of the Ordinances of the North-West Territories, passed in the year 1901.

2. In the appropriation by the legislature, or distribution by the government of the province, of any money for the support of schools organized and carried on in accordance with said Chapter 29 or any Act passed in amendment thereof or in substitution therefore, there shall be no discrimination against schools of any class described in the said Chapter 29.

3. Where the expression "by law" is employed in sub-section 3 of the said Section 93, it shall be held to mean the law as set out in the said Chapters 29 and 30, and where the expression "at the union" is employed in said sub-section 3 it shall be held to mean the date at which this Act comes into force.

In September last, the two new provinces were organized, and legislatures in sympathy with separate schools have since been elected. When it is remembered that in the near future these great provinces will be the home of millions of people, a large percentage of whom will be Catholics, the great import of the legislation of last year becomes apparent. It was a

realization of this fact that made the struggle of a year ago a determined one on both sides. Not to preserve the mere handful of separate schools that now exist in the new provinces did the Catholics of Canada fight valiantly for their rights; they looked to the future when these fertile prairies will be covered with fruitful farms and studded with teeming cities. Too much credit cannot be given to Sir Wilfrid Laurier for the inflexible determination he manifested a year ago in defence of Catholic rights and religious education; and behind him stood the united Catholic body of the Dominion as well as a goodly number of liberal-minded Protestants, who recognize that there are two sides to this question, and apart from whose valuable assistance the fight had been in vain.

F. S.

Lois.

CHAPTER V.

CHANGES.

THE question was, What was Lois to do?

Mr. and Mrs. Gray were arranging for their nieces. Eve was to live with them, for a time at all events, and Polly and Clare were to go to Canada with two friends who each wanted "a bright young person" to look after the children, give them such instruction as she was capable of imparting, and make herself generally useful and companionable. The girls were glad to begin their new life in another land—"to shape their old course in a country new," as Polly put it; and Eve was gently willing to have her life arranged for her. She was not to have very long to wait before joining her father and mother. But Polly and Clare had much of earth's good to receive. They were very happy indeed in Canada, married out there, and became good mothers, and loved the new land very dearly. Lois had letters from them for a time. Gradually the intervals between these letters increased, and the letters themselves decreased in length, generally consisting of a description of the new baby's charms, and the perpetual goodness of the baby's father. But the failure in correspondence came to be mostly on Lois's side after all: Lois's, who had no husband and no babies.

Jim became a clergyman after a few years, and went out to Canada also. And then Lois was living in England, and not among quickset hedges, but in the London which for so many years she had only known through history or story or imagination. Things pass away quickly, and in their mutability fulfil the laws immutable, and in their change the decrees unchanging.

The new rector of Clonellan was in no hurry to claim the house. He was a bachelor, and he said he could live in rooms in the village as long as the young people liked to remain. But

the arrangers of the young people's movements entirely pooh-poohed their wishes to stay a little longer. "As if girls like you could stay here by yourselves, to say nothing of unfairness to the new man!" And the plans for the daughters were quickly made. The young people clung together that last evening and talked over their future, Clare and Polly full of elastic hope, prophesying how one day they were all to come together again, and how Lois was to be a great writer, and how she was to do great things with the great wealth that was to come to her in the great day of her great fame; great things for the people who needed things being done for them. Also there was to be rich velvet and old lace, and all the books one could wish for, and a country house, and peacocks, and pictures, and a river, and trees, and mountains and sea, and no needlework, and all like a fairy tale. And yet the children knew better; but it hardly hurt them to let imagination run riot, especially when the pain of loss had been, and the pain of parting was to come.

The doctor carried off Lois. "It will be a great boon to my sister to have one of the Rectory girls, and she can stay till something turns up. It will be dull enough for her, but if she will put up with an old bachelor and Co. she will be conferring a favour on us."

So Lois went to the neat house and the fair little garden, there to abide for a time.

CHAPTER VI.

LOIS WRITES TO THE HEAD OF A FIRM.

IN her dainty little room, the room she found such a difficulty in keeping neat, Lois was sitting one afternoon at her little table; her own little table which she had longed for years to possess, because it had two deep drawers and four shallow ones, so nice to keep papers in; the table which she had one day found in her Rectory room, put there by the kind hands of the aunt, at the suggestion of the uncle, who guessed that it would be a treasure to Lois. Dr. Lee had bought it at a valuation, and it was taken to his house with her things, and dusted for her, and covered at the top with a nice dark green

cloth which did not prevent the drawers from opening. On it stood the desk Uncle James had given her one birthday; a desk that had once belonged to her great-great-grandmother. He said he was handing it to her merely, for her father had given it to him for her. It had the name "Lois Eyre" incised in a brass plate. All Lois's papers were back in the drawers of her table now; the papers that had had to be removed before the valuation.

Lois wept over the things. "Oh, Uncle James and Aunt Esther! How good, how good you were to me. Dear father! Dear mother! Oh, why did God take you away?" She forced back the tears that would have brought healing had they been shed on the breast of the Mother who nurses the orphans of Jesus; and took out from the deep drawers paper after paper. She read them over, those verses which Uncle James had read so carefully, so understandingly: verses in which there was a promise for the future, and a measure of fulfilment for the present. She remembered the ideal which Uncle James had set before her, to be attained through waiting and preparation and self-discipline. She knew by heart the text, the life-text he had given her. "He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things." He had taken her to the pages of "those lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos" great deeds, renowned "over all Christendom." He had given her the best, and guided her to the use of it. He had taught her that "Life is more than Art," as Roden Noel epitomizes what Milton set forth, and that the fairest art ought, under its true conditions, to spring from the fairest life. She had done with these poems the best she could. By-and-by a stronger flight might be hers. But he had passed them, and in that desk was a letter he had written to the head of a firm of publishers whose enterprize and kindness were alike well known; a letter with which he had meant to enclose some of them. Something had called him away, just after setting his signature to the letter. "We will send them off to-morrow," the morrow which he never saw. The large blue envelope was addressed in his handwriting, rather illegible, as clergymen's handwriting is wont to be. He had carefully folded the poems they had together selected, and laid them by it. No one, not even Aunt Esther, was to know about it—for the present.

This was the letter :

Dear Sir,—The enclosed poems were written by my adopted niece, Lois Moore. She is still very young, and I think feels with me that she has yet much to learn. But, when I compare her work with a good deal of what appears in magazines of a high standard, I cannot but feel that what she has to say and her manner of saying it is worth bringing under the notice of one who, like yourself, has the reputation of being a kindly encourager as well as an excellent judge. Will you therefore give me your opinion of the enclosed, and tell me whether you think my connection with the writer and all that is consequent upon it has blinded me to the quality of her verse? I am sure that, in any case, you will agree with me that, while it is bad to take dross for gold, it is far worse to take gold for dross. My niece is not a precocious girl, but you may find that she will one day prove herself a true poet—whether in Sidney's sense or in the limited one of now-a-days.

I am, dear sir,
Faithfully yours,
JAMES COLCLOUGH.

Clonellan Rectory,
Bustford,
Ireland.

Lois did not read the letter, her uncle not having shown it to her ; so she just folded it and put it into the envelope.

Then she wrote :

Dear Sir,—My uncle, the Rector of Clonellan, who died three months ago, had written the enclosed letter, meaning to send it to you with some verses of mine which he thought among the best I had written. I do not know what he has said to you, but I want to ask you whether you think they are good enough to print, and whether they are worth being paid for.

Yours obediently,
LOIS MOORE.

Lois had hesitated some little time before she had arrived at the "obediently." It seemed on the whole the proper thing to say to a publisher. Why it seemed so she could hardly have even tried to explain. But it did, and she folded the letter, and sealed it with the old ring which was the only thing she possessed except the desk that had belonged to her father : his grandfather's it had been, with the Egerton crest, the pelican feeding her young. Lois knew how to describe the pelican as "in her piety," but she did not know that she was guilty of a solecism in sealing with a crest. She took the precious document, registered it, and left it in her Majesty's care.

CHAPTER VII.

MR. ROSS REPLIES.

THERE was only a brief space of waiting for Lois before a letter came to her from Mr. Ross himself, the head of the great firm of Ross and Ross, the great firm through which so many great books had first seen, and were first to see the light. It was a very kind letter. Mr. Ross had read the poems with much interest, he told her; and went on to say:

I am very much impressed by them. Whether they really rise to the level of the genius which commands and necessitates public attention, I cannot as yet say, but they certainly look like it. There is some weakness, and there is a certain strain of the imitativeness natural to young writers. You have not material enough for a volume, but I think I could arrange that one of your poems should now and then appear in the magazine which we publish. You have plenty of time before you for the necessary self-culture by reading and seeing and thinking. Will you pardon me if I say, and emphatically say, that you must not expect to make money by poetry? We shall pay you for all we use, but this cannot amount to more than a very few pounds in the year. And even if you one day, as I hope you may, get a hearing which means the wish of editors to give you the *entrée* to many magazines, and the sale of your work in volume form, you must put aside the thought—which, pardon me, I have no right to assume you to have—of making a fortune in this way. Tennyson and Tupper (strange concatenation!) have realized large sums by their verse. But this is most unusual.

Will you forgive an old man who is the father of several boys and girls, and also has gathered somehow from your letter that you would like to make an independence, if he suggests the writing of prose stories as a much more likely way of making money than the writing of verse?

If some day when you are more settled, after what must have been a great sorrow (most of us are no strangers to sorrow), you like to send me a short story, told simply about things with which you are familiar, I shall be very glad to consider it. I enclose your uncle's letter, as you will like to keep it.

Faithfully yours,

DUNCAN ROSS.

Kind as the letter was, it was even less kind than this tender-hearted old gentleman who reigned over St. Ann's House, St. Ann's Square, E.C., with its branches in the New World and the Colonies, would have liked to write to the young Irish girl,

under whose quiet little letter he had felt her pain. Telegrams and letters in abundance were waiting for him when he drove in from his pretty Wimbledon house. There were the final arrangements to make with Professor Whitethorn about his great Treatise on the Fourth Dimension ; and with the Venerable the Archdeacon of Chatsworth about that learned book which was to deal a for-ever crippling blow at the belief in Hell. There were large orders, they told him, from all parts of the world, involving the immediate sending to press of a new edition of the anonymous book which had leaped into sudden fame : the book that showed Almighty God the Son as merely a great human teacher of exquisite morality penetrated by emotion, and possessing a magnetic personality which drew men to His side, and sent out strange and beautiful forces of healing to body and soul. The novel was ready which was to show clearly the necessity for the abolition of Free Trade ; and many another novel of purpose and teaching was going forth,—of whatever kind and of whatever worth the teaching might be. Volumes of poetry, too, some of which would go little further than the Row, or the reviewer's desk ; and some of which would be the little tapers that would light those great candles that would go on burning for many and many a day. There was indeed multiplicity of business, and many things to be discussed with "the other" Ross. But with all this, Duncan Ross, long before country-post time, had read Lois's letter and all the enclosures, and looked out Lois's uncle's cure in the Irish Clerical Directory : a very small cure, as he had guessed.

He knew the story of the many-childed, small-incomed clergyman by heart, as all charitably-disposed men must know it. But if ever there had come up a suggestion of the advisability of celibacy for clergy, he would have set down the suggestor as a secret adherent of the Scarlet Lady, whom he most frankly and truly hated with a perfect hatred. There was the consoling thought that Mr. Colclough had been rector, not curate, and he might have had private means ; and he might have been childless, as he had adopted a niece. He hoped he had not been a Ritualist, which was even worse than a Scarlet Ladyite. But he believed Ritualism, like the shamrock in the song, was by law forbid to grow in Irish soil. And—but here Duncan Ross had a hearty laugh at himself, if a silent one, wrote his letter, and as far as possible dismissed the subject from his mind. Why not altogether ? Plenty of young ladies

sent manuscripts to him, and so did older ones, and men too, young and old.

But Lois's little letter abode with him, and he shared its interest with her who shared all interests with him.

CHAPTER VIII.

WINGS A-PREENING.

THE Lees would gladly have had Lois remain with them. She showed them Mr. Ross's letter, and they were as glad as they were entirely surprised. And they were proud as well as glad when the proof of a poem came to Lois, accompanied by a cheque which seemed to them a wonderful sum as representing the value of a page of verse. But they purred over proof and cheque, especially cheque; and the old lady said, "O my dear, do, do, live with us, and write. It's quiet enough here. Why, if you get as much as that, or perhaps more, every month—*Ross's Magazine* comes out every month, doesn't it?—you'll soon make a little fortune; and you'll be quite independent, my love, and it will be such a happiness to us. Won't it, Rob?"

The doctor laughed. "Why, Susie, you don't expect Mr. Ross to print a poem of Lois's every month, even if she could write one? There must be plenty of other poets, though none we care for so much. And Lois mustn't write poetry to make money; she must sing when she wants to sing. If our little bird's notes whistle down a shower of gold, so much the better," he added, after the pause during which he filled his pipe.

"Why, brother, you are growing poetical!" said Miss Lee—she was generally called Miss Susan or Miss Susie—"you are catching it from Lois."

"Mr. Ross has accepted other poems, doctor," said Lois, "but he doesn't know when he can publish them."

"What about writing a story, as he suggests?" said the doctor.

"Doctor, I can't, I know I can't—I've got into the way of writing verse now—I'll try again some day. I have tried lately, but it was a failure."

"Well, my dear, well, don't worry yourself. See here, Lois!" He had been hunting in various pockets, and at last went back to the first one, which held his purse. He produced from it

a slip which he handed Lois. "I cut this for you out of the *Church Warder*. I wanted you to see it, because you had said something about trying to get that sort of thing. We might answer it, if you liked."

This was the advertisement which the doctor had cut out:

A Lady wishes for a Companion to go abroad with her. Gentlewoman, young, cheerful. Must know French. German desirable. Liberal Salary. B, *Church Warder*, Box 10,007,139.

Lois wrote to B., describing herself as well as she could between humility on the one hand and, on the other, desire to set forth her qualifications so as to induce a cultivated lady to take her abroad, and give her a liberal salary. But no answer came from B., who, before the advertisement came into Lois's hands, had received hundreds of letters from all ranks and ages in the great army of the unemployed or disengaged; eligible, or ineligible, mostly the latter. And after all, B. had decided to travel with a maid only.

Lois felt as if she must be very ungrateful, a "cold ingrate" indeed, because she could not even wish to remain with the Lees. It was perfectly clear to her that she did not wish it. There had been stirrings within her long since; stirrings which no one had known of, though James Colclough had, and not vaguely, felt them and understood. She would see a larger world than she had known or even dreamed of; she would meet people who talked like people in books, books by a great novelist; people whose talk made you feel that they knew of things unknown to you, and whose skirts seemed perpetually to brush against some flower of knowledge, and touch the page with delicate allusive pollen. And she would see people who had done great things. She would see and read and mark and learn as she could not do here. By-and-by, she too would be able to use that brilliant allusiveness which now so often mocked her, and which, when come upon in books read aloud for her old friends, provoked exclamations of wonder from the one and of impatience from the other. She would meet the living writers in prose and verse, some of whose recent books Mr. Ross had sent her as a gift. Crude, undefined hopes, self-centred mostly, too.

A big sea was sounding afar off; a sea she heard the roar of through the shell that imagination put to her ear. And she

would be a great poet. Her songs should be, as it were, great deeds.

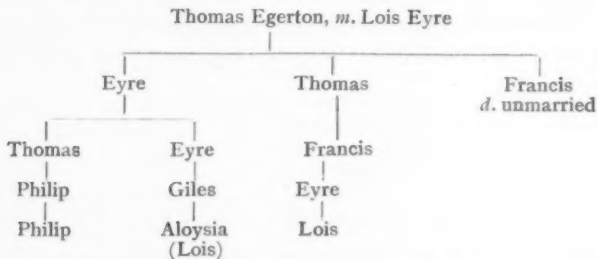
"I'm not sure that I know what it's all about, darling," said Miss Susie, when the proof of a new poem had come, "but I'm sure it's beautiful. I wish people whose opinion is worth more than Rob's and mine could tell you what they think of it."

CHAPTER IX.

CROYDE.

WHILE one Lois was sorrowing and wondering, yet preening her wings with the strength and the daring or audacity of youth, another Lois was bearing a great sorrow many miles away: a Lois also young and fair, born on the same day of the same year as Lois Moore, and indeed her kinswoman. This Lois had the same kind of broad brow as her namesake, and the same very soft, very glossy brown hair. The eyes of both these young kinswomen were hazel, with all the change of colour which that involves; change of colour with change of mood, thought, emotion; but there was something in Lois Egerton's eyes which there was not in Lois Moore's, and her mouth, too, was different; not less well shapen but with something of ascetical or spiritual, which, latent perhaps in Lois Moore's, was here developed and habitual. The whole face and the whole body, with its curves of grace and lovely movements, had more of the spirit; but the spirit that was affirmation of the eternal, not mere negation of the temporal; the spirit that informed a body in purest health, the health of the temperate congenitally and in their own being, with the temperance which great God-taught ones have classed among the gifts that are best and fairest. Lois Moore looked like a poet; Lois Egerton, like what poets have sung of; what poets indeed have sometimes attained, if only through tears and blood, to be; even a saint, a saint not by defect of all that is lovely in humanity, but by the balance that comes of discipline, and the harmony that is of consecration. And here I make a little table, which saves some telling, and shows how in the same generation there stood two women-cousins, both bearing the same name: the Lois from the elder branch having been named Aloysia, after the boy-saint on whose festival she was baptized: but the name had suggested

that of the great-great-grandmother whose name was given to Lois Moore; Lois, born Eyre; and so it was often used by her father, and her near relations and friends.



Aloysia Egerton's sorrow, and her father's too, for Giles Egerton and his daughter had all joys and sorrows in common, had come, as sorrows not rarely come, treading on the heels of a great joy. At least the final announcement had come then, for it had cast its shadow before; only so much thought and work and care had been given to the preparation for the great glad ceremony of yester-week that it was usually in the quiet of the chapel that Lois Egerton thought of Ralph Comyn and prayed for him that he might know the light; even if, as it seemed more than likely, he meant to walk in the darkness which they knew he had been drawing near to. He had asked them not to write to him on the subject, and not to mention it when he came to Croyde, as he had done every few months; not now for the Sunday, when, though not of the Faith, he had knelt with them in their worship, the worship which he had often told them was very dear to him.

Croyde House stood high, on a great stretch of breezy upland: roads on either side led down to the village nestling at the foot of the slope. The house looked over to ranges of rounded hills, and down slopes pine-clad, to the road that was cut through a sort of gorge, and across that road up over gorse and broom, on to the fragrant woods in their wholesome beauty.

It was on this upland that, several years ago, good Father Lesley, who had come from his heavy slum-work to take the rest absolutely enjoined upon him on peril of its becoming obligatory instead of needful, had stood after the climb which had made him pant for breath for some minutes. It was here that he had knelt and asked the prayers of the Lady

of the Goodly Dowry that one day, in His mercy, her Son would give to his poor men and women some share in this light and fairness and health, if only for a little interval between the time of life in the slums, and life in the slums: that life which has come out of the wrong social conditions that grew up after the mother of true social conditions, even the Church whose Household is the Household of Faith, had been thrown down and robbed, and flung bleeding from her wounds, upon the breast of exiledom.

He rose from his knees, and with that imagination which often is born of faith itself, and sometimes indeed is one with it, looked east of him, and saw happy homes of workers glad in their work, at beautiful industries of linen-weaving and lace-making: down in that village with its clean, clear river, and its gardens and its meadow-lands: he saw faces bright and young, which he knew too well as worn and old: he saw all the play of detail which he was indeed too sorrowfully familiar with in all its ugliness and sordidness, changed and transfigured. He heard the shouts of his little children at their play, unmingled with the blasphemies which he had so often heard from baby lips that knew not what they said: he saw those little children kneeling and adoring at Holy Mass: he caught their shrill, sweet voices, close on the eager, outstretched hands, in answer to the simple questions on the Faith: and his heart was very glad. Poor foolish priest, will you say, to be gladdened by a day-dream?

There were many among his flock in the slums who had come from the country—country as beautiful as this; or more beautiful indeed, for some of them hailed from the mountains of Ireland with their grandeur and their smile and their frown, and their slopes of heather, or of greenest pasture: they had come to be swamped in the great town. There were those among them who just needed the freedom and the vitalizing power of the country to be what he never dared hope they could be, so far away from it. He had recognized this very early in the days of his priesthood. He saw the worn, sallow Irish faces, the degraded physique of the little children. He realized with that grief of the believing which brings keener pain than the despair of the outsider, how they were losing their Faith among those who denied it in word or deed, or were blankly indifferent.

"Oh, if I could only transport them to Croyde, or to such

a place as Croyde! give them room, room to breathe in, to grow in, to believe in, to love in, to be clean in; clean in body and soul! Breezes to blow on them! Sunshine to shine on them! Little feet pressing pine-fragrant turf instead of hard pavements! Ears learning to 'love the song of the lark better than the cheep of the mouse!'"

And yet he knew that unless he could bring them close to the sound of the Mass-bell, it were better in ways spiritual for them to be in town with its opportunities for the learning of the Faith than in the country with no Holy Mass, no catechism, no priestly care. Once it had seemed possible that even in this Croyde neighbourhood part of his dream at least might be realized, in the removal of some children under loving Catholic care, from influences unwholesome, positively or negatively. A lady who wanted to help in church work wished to take a large house not many miles off, near a common, and turn it into a home for orphan or deserted children, with a little chapel in which there might be a weekly Mass. But the cry arose that the Papists wanted to overrun the country, and the landlord refused to let.

This landlord was Philip Egerton, who reached his fortieth year unmarried. He spent most of his time abroad, and, when he was in England, was very little at his country place. There was more heard of him in the miniature No-Popery agitation than had been heard for a long time. It soon died down, and the lady found work in helping a mission in another part of the country, and went to aid other over-worked priests from other over-crowded places. The time for Croyde was not yet.

Had Philip Egerton's marriage been a childless one, his first cousin Giles would have succeeded him, and people supposed that Giles or Giles's daughter would one day be the owner of Croyde. But against this there were "strong family reasons;" these reasons being that, Giles's father having married a Catholic lady, her son had, through Eyre's most culpable weakness, as Philip put it, been brought up in the old Faith; which indeed Eyre himself had received before he died. The reversion was not undone by Giles's marriage, for he married the daughter of one of those old families in England in whose house the light of truth has never flickered and never burned dim.

Therefore the elder Philip's will excluded his cousin, and the younger Philip's had repeated the exclusion when, at twenty-five, its framer found himself master of Croyde. In his maturity

Philip married, and on his wedding-day, with the new will as yet unsigned, which, drawn up a few days before, again excluded Giles and all his descendants from the succession, he died suddenly, his death leaving his widow entirely unprovided for. On that morning, just before he started for church, Philip had destroyed his former will, invalidated as it would be by his marriage.

The news that he was master of Croyde came to Giles one spring afternoon when he and his only child, Aloysia, were setting out for one of their long walks. Their life was a simple one; the thought high, and the living plain, as became Tertiaries of St. Dominic; and the voluntary work they set themselves was not over-easy, and their recreation-time was, as recreation-time should be, happy and free. Some days had passed since Philip's death, as there had been a delay in finding Giles's whereabouts, there having been no communication at any time between the cousins.

What Philip Egerton's widow owed to the selfless tact of Aloysia and her father, as well as to their exquisite courteous charity, no one ever knew. In after-time Mrs. Philip Egerton did much to dissipate the prejudice against "Romanists." But Giles and his daughter dissipated much more of it by their own gracious, beautiful demeanour than even the expression of Mrs. Egerton's feeling towards them could do.

The unsigned will, shown to him by his cousin's lawyer, was carefully studied by Giles, and its provisions for Mrs. Egerton's future were carried out by him in the spirit of a more than generous interpretation. The will provided that, should Philip Egerton die without heirs, the property was to go to the eldest representative of the younger branch of the family, the descendants of Thomas Egerton, brother to Philip's great-grandfather, on condition that he professed himself a member of the Church of England as by law established: should he fail to do so, it was to go to the next of kin, under the same conditions, which, if unfulfilled, put the succession a step back. So on until the true Protestant possessor turned up.

It was only a matter of course to Giles Egerton that, when he entered into possession of the estate and its revenues, he should institute inquiries as to whether there were any relations of his living who needed in any way a helping hand. But repeated advertisements brought no answers, and the inquiries ceased, Giles and Aloysia apparently remaining, as they had been used

to say of themselves, without kin on the Egerton side if not without kith.

Then Father Lesley, who had been offering many a Mass and many a Rosary for the intention of that day now in the long ago, saw a better realization of his dream than he could have ever imagined. The transformation came quickly, too, and the old priest offered the Holy Sacrifice on the very place where hundreds of years ago It had suddenly ceased to be offered; in the chapel built at the south side of the house, in great part with materials belonging to that chapel which for many and many a day had not had one stone left to be seen, all that remained of it being covered with a great mound. But the mound was opened, and the old stones set in place.

"A private chapel! Just for one family! A priest from Saturday to Monday that one household may hear Mass, while thousands are starving for it! Away with these private chaplaincies!"

But as the chapel rose, and confirmed report went out that faculties would be applied for that it might be licensed as a parish church, Catholics came within fairly easy distances to find sites for building, and various well-built houses arose; and the cottage industries drew many or saved many from overcrowded courts, and led them to the sweetness and cleanness of the country. Father Lesley well knew how people had come from country districts to better themselves, and instead were being swamped in great towns; and he had wanted to send them back: but how? It was true that, at its best, all done at Croyde was only as a drop compared to the mighty abundance of rain that was needed; but the work was good and would bring blessing. Women and girls learned to spin and to weave; the shuttle was thrown up and down with the rapidity which, thousands of years before, the old patriarch had noted; the linen, fresh from its steeping in that clear water, grew white in that air and that sunshine. The women sang at their work: there was time for good-morning, and good-evening: time for thought and joy in work and outside it. Later on there would be lace-making; lace-making from beautiful designs; and designers to use their art uncramped and uncrushed. It was a wide scheme, and one that involved more than was on the surface; even not the mere education of taste, but the teaching of the preference for good things to cheap things, of worth to

market value. And these are things which cannot be learned lightly ; things which, like all great and high things, are best learned where falls the shadow of the Cross.

CHAPTER X.

RALPH COMYN.

THIS day on which *Lois Egerton* had had to accept a special sorrow, had come very soon after the great day of the blessing of the looms, and of the office from which the industries were to be managed ; a day glad all round with a gladness shared in not by the Catholics only but by many who had wished for something like this, though they had feared it was an impossibility. No hearts were fuller than those of *Giles Egerton* and his daughter, and the old priest who first had thought of this and hoped and prayed and believed.

Things were quiet now. The Bishop, who had stayed on for two days, had gone : the guests were scattered : the lawn bore traces of the festivities which could not be effaced quite yet : and almost all the flowers left were folded or unfolding buds.

Ralph Comyn had come to *Egerton* and, with sorrow for what he knew would be a deep pain to his uncle and cousin, had told them the bad news that he had made up his mind finally to reject the faith of Christendom.

Ralph Comyn, the son of a first cousin of *Aloysia's* mother, was some years older than she, and had often played with her, in a sort of big brother fashion, when she was a little girl. He had sometimes spent part of his school holidays with his cousins, and, when they went to *Croyde*, in his college days, there was always a welcome for him. *Ralph's* mother had married an Anglican, and had consented to the boy's baptism as a Protestant. She died before he was old enough to profit by her repentance and her obtaining from her husband the promise that she might at least teach him his first prayers. *Ralph's* father was what might be described as "broad," "liberal," "latitudinarian," according to the way of looking at things, and his religion sat lightly upon him ; but he disliked the Church as much as it was in his easy-going nature to dislike anything. Yet he never made any objection to his son's staying

with the only connections on his mother's side who seemed to take any interest in him.

If Giles Egerton had had any hopes of his cousin's acceptance of the Faith, they were unfulfilled, but a very strong affection sprang up between them. Ralph worshipped, or rather attended worship, with his "uncle" and cousin when he was with them, and at Croyde he took a very true interest in all the plans, the execution of which meant so much to Giles and Aloysia. But there was no real basis to his religion, and that he himself knew as well as they.

When, at twenty-three, he woke to the knowledge that "Lois," as he best liked to call her, was more dear to him than any sister could be, he was puzzled and troubled. He had the prospect of a good diplomatic career before him, and there would be no pecuniary difficulty. But, apart from their relationship, and apart from the difference of their creed, if his could be called a creed, so vague it was and hers so definite; apart even from the fact of her youth, which would, he was sure, be a barrier for a considerable time to come, there was a something about her that seemed to enclose her, as it were, from the thought of marriage. He could not define this, and he tried to put it away, and sometimes he succeeded, or thought he had succeeded. Then he almost laughed at himself for what he called a silly giving way to nonsense. But over and over again it would come, that haunting sense that her world was not his; that with all that exquisite sympathy which he knew well enough brought to her ear the troubles of lovers as of others, and their joys too, there could be for her none of this sorrow as none of this joy. He had heard stories of young maidens for whom there was no marriage nor giving in marriage, because they knew of another spousehead that bound them in bonds all holy and never to be broken: stories mostly in connection with the history of art; stories that seemed to him like tales of Faerie, or of an older world: but he did not realize how these bonds have bound, and are binding, and will yet bind, myriads upon myriads of faithful souls, men and women, youths and maidens. He kept silence for a time, but his great love grew greater, all the greater for the passionate reverence it bore, and he persuaded himself, even against what was growing into a kind of instinct, how it was the wonderful atmosphere of purity which she exhaled that made him fear and hesitate. And so, at the end of the first visit he paid to

them at Croyde, he told his uncle, as he had always called him, that he loved Lois. He saw, in the kindly, grieved look on Giles Egerton's face, that the matter was hopeless; but he went blindly, blunderingly on.

"Not now, uncle, not now. She is too young; I know that: but let me have some hope. Her Faith shall never be interfered with—you know I'm an honourable man—and, if there should be children, they should, I pledge my honour, all be brought up as Catholics.—Uncle——"

Giles laid his hand on the young man's arm. "You must think of her as your cousin, boy; now and always."

Still Ralph persisted. "Yes, uncle, I know—but we could have a dispensation—your Church allows this."

"I am very, very sorry, Ralph. Somehow I've blundered: I understood the whole position so perfectly myself that I assumed, unconsciously, and, I fear, foolishly, that others would do the same."

"Uncle, is it because I'm a Protestant? Much of a nominal one, only, I fear, and with great sympathy for the Old Faith, which I cannot, however, see my way to profess. There is too much that I feel I could not accept, in the Church's teaching, as well as her history. But is that a hopeless barrier?"

"Lois would, I am sure, think it so, my dear Ralph. In any case, she will never marry."

"But surely—surely, she isn't going into a convent?"

There was a look on the young man's face which startled Giles, and yet woke in him something at least like a feeling of amusement, however slight, and however quickly put aside. It was the revelation of the great gulf between the Catholic conception of life and service and the Protestant: for, as Egerton plainly saw, the look was not that of grief for the loss of a great hope, but rather of horror for whatever might be involved in "going into a convent." He took no outward notice of the look, which did not quickly pass, but said:

"Ralph, I should have thought you must know what Catholics hold as to the dedication of the whole being, in a special way, to the service of God. I can hardly see how you can have mixed so much with us without knowing it."

"I suppose I did know it, uncle, but as—as a very far-off thing: as—forgive me if I say it—a remnant of mediævalism with which I had never happened to come in contact."

"I suppose it is difficult for a non-Catholic to understand, unless, indeed, by the force of imaginative sympathy."

He did not add what was in his mind to add: "Which is one of the forms in which the Holy Spirit works."

They had always been the best of friends, Ralph Comyn and his "uncle;" and Ralph had met Catholics at Croyde, priests, laymen, ladies. He had heard free discussion of all kinds, sometimes mixed with what outsiders are apt to conceive of as irreverence, even the handling of sacred subjects with that entire familiarity with which children handle whatever belongs to the house of their Mother. To queries which he had sometimes made either from interest or from curiosity, he had always received answers frank and full. But this subject was one that had never come under his notice, and he could now see how difficult the understanding of it must be to him. In that moment also, a sort of feeling, akin to shame, came upon him, as having violated the sanctity of that inward consciousness, defined be it or undefined, which plays the part of a good angel to keep us from so many a false step, and from so many a hurt to the chastity of our own soul or the souls of others.

They sat together for a few minutes, hand clasped in hand. Giles Egerton's thoughts had gone back to the day when his child had been clothed with the habit of the Dominican Third Order, and to the day on which she had made her profession as a Tertiary in the hands of the old Father who had baptized her; and afterwards had knelt and also made in his hands the vow of chastity, to be renewed year by year. There was the understanding that the trial of her vocation for the religious life might not come for a long time. This was the advice of the Father, as of his Superiors. Giles's own days, he believed, and the doctors also believed, were not likely to be very long drawn out, and yet there could be no certainty, for the growth of the internal disease might be very slow; "sluggish" was the word they used. It was not a case in which there was any likelihood of an operation proving successful; and there would probably be a great deal of prolonged suffering which Aloysia would share by sympathy and alleviate by helpful love.

He told Ralph this, but dwelt so little upon the subject of the state of his own health, that the young man had only the vaguest realization that he was in the presence of one whose feet had entered on the great lone path never to be retraced.

The keeping of this in the background was of course made all the easier by Ralph's prime interest in Aloysia's plan of life. The conception of the dedicated life he could only receive, as it were, in the concrete of his choice; not in the abstract of the marriage holier even than the mystery which shadows forth the union of the Lord with His Church, just because it is the union itself, and the substance is in truth greater than the shadow.

"The sage and serious doctrine of virginity," as Milton has named his nearest approach to the Catholic doctrine, belongs to the Church, who thinks nothing too exquisite to lay at the feet of her Lord. To the non-Catholic mind the subject presents itself in various false lights. "It is a crushing of nature: and so a rebellion against God. For God meant people to live in the world, and to pray, not to be taken out of it, but to be kept from the evil." "It is a sheer waste of the good gifts God meant to be used." "Married life is God's ordinance, as well as the natural life for all." "The highest function of a woman is the bearing of a child." To which last assertion the corollary is that a woman who has missed the bearing of children has failed in life. Hence, while the Church has glorified virginity, the non-Catholic world has pelted its own creation, the old maid, with reproach and ridicule.

And again, if some among Protestants approve of communities for work, social and religious, under certain rules and with certain observances, there is still apparent a wearing of the rue with a difference—an unwillingness to admit youth in its glory to the glory of dedication—the feeling that women should know what the world is like before they renounce it; must be "of an age to know their own minds:" must be "ripe" enough for the life they are to enter upon. For the sacrificial side is uppermost: it is what is given up that is thought of, not what is gained. And in the revival of interest in the religious life which has marked a section of the Established English Church, and greatly dignified it, there is yet the dread of any dwelling on the thought of the spousehead into which our nuns enter. The Heavenly Bridegroom must not be thought of. "There is danger of hysteria, and ugliness of that kind."

Perhaps as good an illustration as we can find of the Protestant incapacity for understanding the Catholic doctrine of virginity is in that part of Tennyson's beautiful *Holy Grail*

in which he describes the nun¹ to whom the Vision of the Sacred Cup was vouchsafed. It is perfectly safe to say that to a Catholic treating the subject the nun would have been the chooser of the Divine Bridegroom; but Tennyson, while, as a poet he felt the beauty of the dedicated life in religion, as a Protestant must needs put in that lamentable description of non-choice.

... if ever holy maid,
With knees of adoration wore the stone,
A holy maid; tho' never maiden glow'd,
But that was in her earlier maidenhood,
With such a fervent flame of human love,
Which being rudely blunted, glanc'd and shot
Only to holy things.

With Lois Egerton the flame was unblunted: it was no glancing, no shooting to holy things of the sacred glory's rutiliance. Her heart had gone out to the Bridegroom, and she would obey His call, came that call early or came it late.

After Ralph's almost inaudible "Thank you," at the hearing of what Egerton had told him, he said: "Had I better not come here again, uncle?—at least for a time?"

"Why not, boy? that is, why not, if it does not give you pain? You love your uncle and cousin, and they love you: and it is far better for our Lois that no shadow of a guess at—*this*—should ever reach her."

Giles Egerton went on: "And, Ralph, may I say what I have often wanted to say?"

"Of course!"

"Will you think of your position—as a baptized person—which pledges you to something? Will you, for your own sake, and for the sake of those whose environment you are daily helping to make—those you come into contact with, and all they come into contact with—think, with God and your own soul, whether you ought not to take up some definite position? It may not be the Catholic one; we will pray that it may—but don't go about caring for none of these things except in a vague, poetical way. I have not, since you grew up, taken advantage of our relationship and our friendship to plead with you for this, but you have been greatly in my thought and in my mind; and I have prayed and hoped that one day you would see your way to the Faith—the one Faith of the one Church."

¹ In Malory, Sir Percival's sister is not a nun.

"Do you think, uncle, that there is no way to truth except through the Catholic Church?"

"I think that God has many ways of dealing with souls that honestly seek Him: I mean by 'honestly,' in willingness to find Him in His way, not their own. Millions have lived up to what they believed to be true; millions outside the Fold, not by any fault of theirs, and who dare call them outsiders to God's love, to God's justice? But the revelation of God which He has chosen to give He has chosen to give in and through the Church, and no light can be like theirs who take it from her hands."

"Uncle, isn't it better to be a good Protestant, or, say, a good Agnostic, than a bad Catholic?"

"Even a bad Catholic, Ralph, has a tremendous pull over a good Protestant, just because he *knows*, and he can seek mercy and find it. Of course, his responsibility is infinitely greater, and the judgment on him a very different one. To a Protestant the terribly hard thing is to put himself into the posture of humility. The knees of his heart are not easily bent; they are stiff with the stiffness of generations of private judgment. As to a good Agnostic, I can hardly tell what that means. It ought to mean one faithful to no-knowledge; one contented to walk in the dark——"

"Not necessarily *contented*, uncle. He may have to do it."

"It is a state of mind I should find it difficult to conceive of, a state not outside God's mercy—no earthly state can be that—but God forbid it should come to you. Yet, Ralph, if one I love should one day go down even to that valley of the shadow of death, which is Atheism, to be a prisoner in its horrible gorge, my love would be his still; and, if mine, *a fortiori* that love which the strongest, purest, truest, deepest, highest human affection can but faintly shadow forth."

EMILY HICKEY.

Flotsam and Jetsam.

The Hagiography of the Heavenly Twins.

If any one desires to form an idea of the extreme lengths to which the craze of folk-lore identifications can be carried, we would commend him to a couple of volumes by Professor Rendel Harris, *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, and *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, the latter of which has only recently appeared. It practically comes to this, that Professor Harris undertakes to show that in almost every case where saints are honoured in pairs we ought to recognize the cult not of flesh-and-blood martyrs or confessors, but rather a survival of the worship of the old pagan deities, Castor and Pollux. Let us hasten to explain that we are not in the least shocked at the idea that a commemoration in the Roman *Martyrologium* should have grown out of a mythological folk tale. One of Professor Harris's most trenchant critics is the Bollandist, Père Delehayé,¹ a scholar who has caused great distress to many over-zealous Catholics by his seemingly rationalistic explanations of the legends of the saints.² In point of fact we willingly allow that intrinsically it seems probable enough that the fables associated with the Dioscuri of the pagan pantheon should have got tacked on to any pair of military saints that offered some initial point of resemblance, or on the other hand that the heroes of a mythological narrative should with some slight change of names and details become popularly canonized and find insertion in calendars or menologies. There are such well-known instances as that of Balaam and Joasaph, where the process of development is quite unmistakable, and it would not in the least astonish us if something similar had

¹ See the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxiii. (1904), pp. 427-432. Why does Mr. Rendel Harris persistently mis-spell the good Father's name as Delahaye?

² *Les Legendes Hagiographiques* is the title of Père Delehayé's work, which will, we trust, shortly be translated into English.

occurred in the case of Castor and Pollux. But all this is a very different matter from the wild generalizations of Professor Rendel Harris,—generalizations which are as unscientific in method as the conclusions to which they lead are incredible.

The Professor's procedure is delightfully simple. He has been struck by the frequent recurrence of what he calls "twin-like and triple names" in the *Martyrologium*, and as he cannot persuade himself that "twins have a predilection for sanctity," he arrives at the conclusion that wherever we meet with such combinations as Menodora, Metrodora and Nymphodora, Cantius, Cantianus and Cantianella, &c., there is presumption of a Dioscuric origin. If Mr. Harris had stopped there we should at least regard his theory as sane and arguable, for though there are plenty of other explanations which would account for the occasional appearance of these assonances,¹ there is no reason why twinship should be excluded as a possible cause. But he goes much further, and is apparently determined to find traces of Castor and Pollux in every case where we meet, not all, but any of the following indications :

- (1) Twin-like features in the names.
- (2) Statements in the *Acta* that they were brothers and sisters, *gemini* or *germani*, and the like.
- (3) Dioscuric touches in the experiences of the saints or in their miracles.
- (4) Allusions to them as luminaries of the heavens, or in particular as related to the morning and evening star.

It is not surprising that Mr. Rendel Harris finds a good many saints who fulfil these conditions ; *e.g.*, to take only a few, Donatianus and Rogatianus, Crispin and Crispinian, Protasius and Gervasius, Vitalis and Agricola, Florus and Laurus, Marcellus and Marcellianus, Cosmas and Damian, Speusippus, Mesippus, and Elasippus.²

The comprehensiveness of these indications becomes more apparent when we discover what Professor Harris precisely

¹ These assonances no doubt constitute a certain presumption of *some* fabulous origin, but surely not necessarily of Dioscuric origin. Are Tweedledum and Tweedledee Dioscuric? or is Humpty Dumpty the equivalent of Castor and Pollux rolled into one? We are likely to find such names and combinations in all primitive fiction, and the fact of their arresting the attention gives them a greater chance of popularity.

² We copy the spelling before us. In these cases of triplets Mr. Harris reminds us that Castor and Pollux had a sister Helen.

means by "Dioscuric Touches." He mentions the following in his earlier book, apparently without any consciousness of establishing a claim to rank as a humorist.

(1) Darkness dispellers; (2) Helpers in battle; (3) Healers of the blind and lame; (4) Sexual helpers; (5) Saviours from the sea; (6) Horse riders, horse tamers or ass tamers; (7) Makers of ploughs and yokes; (8) Builders; (9) Mortal and immortal.

Whenever the reader comes across any of these things, he may feel satisfied that Castor and Pollux are not far off. Neither does this exhaust the list. In his more recent work, Professor Harris gives several more tests, *e.g.*, the Dioscuri are associated with the sky god and thunder god,¹ they are guardians of oaths, they are worshipped by incubation, *i.e.*, by clients sleeping at their shrine. This last touch, we may note, would enable every saint who, during any part of the Middle Ages possessed a shrine of his own, to qualify for Dioscuric honours.

In the *Analecta Bollandiana* for 1904, Père Delchaye, the Bollandist, shows in a brief but pregnant article how utterly untrustworthy are the conclusions founded upon such premisses. He takes for instance the legend of Florus and Laurus, which, according to Professor Harris's own avowal, first put him upon the track of this series of discoveries. Florus and Laurus were twins and sculptors. They were sent for by the Roman Governor to build a temple to the gods. They work hard and earn much money, but distribute it all to the poor. When the temple is completed they break all the idols and consecrate it to Christ, upon which the Governor has them put to death by throwing them into a well.

The story has many features in common with that of the *Quatuor Coronati*, but to Mr. Harris this is either unknown or a matter of indifference. The Saints, he alleges, are proved to demonstration to be Dioscuri by the following facts. (1) Florus and Laurus are honoured on the 18th of August, and St. Helen's name occurs in the *Martyrologium* on the same day. But Helen, of course, was the name of the sister of Castor and Pollux. (2) In Tolstoi's novel, *Peace and War*, Frola and Laura (Florus and Laurus) are called by a peasant *les saints des chevaux*.²

¹ P. 56.

² ? Patrons of horses.

But this is the distinctive trait of the Dioscuri. (3) These Saints were builders and so were the Dioscuri.

To this Father Delehaye replies (1) that it is only in the modern Roman *Martyrologium*, which was drawn up by Baronius in the sixteenth century, that Florus and Laurus are honoured on the same day as St. Helen. In the ancient martyrologies belonging to the time when the legend grew up they are on totally different days.

(2) In the same way there is not the slightest indication in any early legend of Florus and Laurus that they were connected with horses. Mr. Harris is satisfied to derive this vital fact from the ambiguous phrase of a nineteenth century novelist.

(3) The sole reason for calling the Dioscuri builders is that there was some local tradition of their having erected a temple in the south of the Peloponnesus. But there is not a scrap of evidence to show that this idea was ever popularly associated with the Twins. No one pretends that they ever had trowels or squares or chisels for their emblems.

Mr. Harris also lays stress upon the assonance of the names, which no doubt if the vowels are pronounced in true British fashion may be readily conceded him. He seems to forget that for Germany and for more than half Europe the sounds of *au* and *o* are entirely distinct.

The fact is that Professor Harris's procedure, as Signor Pio Franchi dei Cavalieri and M. Dufourc have equally pointed out, is utterly unscientific. He takes no account of the expansion and growth of the legends. Any fancied Dioscuric feature of whatever date is dragged into his demonstration even though there is not a sign of it in the original story. Yet this alone shows the aspect in which the saints were first venerated. An admirable example has been pointed out by Pio Franchi. Professor Harris is convinced that SS. Gervase and Protase were Dioscuri, and to establish this he does not hesitate to declare that St. Ambrose deliberately lied in the account he gave of the finding of their bodies. The main point of his argument turns on the fact that Gervase and Protase are called twins in a version of the legend drawn up 150 years after St. Ambrose started the cultus. The Saint, who preached sermons about them which are still extant, has not a word which would suggest that they were twins; quite the contrary. But what clinches the argument is the fact, cited by Franchi, that we have at Milan a mosaic representing the two Saints, which mosaic

was executed less than a decade after the discovery of the bodies. Now in this mosaic one of the Saints is represented as an old man with white hair and beard, the other as a young one. Surely it is plain that by the contemporaries of St. Ambrose they were not regarded as twin brothers.

But let us take an outside test of Mr. Harris's methods. A very convenient *reductio ad absurdum* is supplied by the Lives of two English saints of whom we read in Bede—St. Cedd and St. Chad. Nothing could be plainer than that, according to the principles just expounded, they also are Dioscuri. None the less St. Chad only died in the year that Bede was born, and no demolisher of legends has ever disputed the historical existence of Cedd and Chad. Bede must have known dozens of people who had conversed with them both in the flesh. Let us enumerate briefly "the Dioscuric touches:"

1. Cedd and Chad are not indeed stated to have been twins, but over and above the assonance of their names, they were brothers (*germani*) and they were both Bishops.

2. It would seem that one belonged to Heaven (*i.e.*, was immortal), the other to earth (*i.e.*, was mortal), for years after Cedd had died, Chad was summoned by heavenly voices, and at his death Cedd came from Heaven to meet him.¹

3. They are both in a most pointed way mentioned as riding horses,² a fact which is hardly recorded by Bede of any other Bishop. Of Chad we are told that he was unwilling to ride in his missionary journeys, but that Archbishop Theodore "with his own hands lifted him on to the horse," and "obliged him to ride wherever he had need to go."

4. In an equally pointed way Bede describes them both as builders.³

5. They were both also healers of the sick.⁴

6. Chad is said to have been in an extraordinary degree sensitive to the phenomena of the heavens, wind, rain, lightning.⁵

7. Chad was specially honoured by incubation. Speaking of his tomb at Lichfield Bede says:

And of late, a certain distracted person, who had been wandering about everywhere, arrived there in the evening unknown or unregarded

¹ *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 3 (Plummer, p. 211).

² *Ibid.* iii. 22 (Plummer, p. 174), and iv. 3 (Plummer, p. 206).

³ Plummer, pp. 175, 207.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 212.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

by the keepers of the place, and having rested there all night went out in his perfect senses the next morning, to the surprise and delight of all.¹

We venture to say that there is far more logical foundation for regarding SS. Chad and Cedd as Dioscuri than for any one of the identifications which Professor Harris in his two volumes has so laboriously striven to establish.

H. T.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

Reviews.

I.—THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.¹

THERE has been much theorizing on Inspiration during the last few decades, and a continuous controversy between Catholics interested in the results of the Higher Criticism on the one side, and the conservative Catholic theologians on the other. But too often one unfortunate feature in the controversy has been that neither side understood the position and difficulties of the other. Those who approached the subject from the side of their critical studies, have been impressed by a weight of evidence which seemed to render the doctrine of Inspiration in the current theological treatises no longer tenable, and have drawn the conclusion that the latter ought to be withdrawn, and that nothing short of a blind obstinacy can explain the attempt to enforce it any longer. Those who approached the subject from the side of their theological studies were impressed by the weight of Biblical and Patristic evidence behind the doctrine of the text-books, and were confident that nothing short of an undisciplined spirit of novelty and dislike for authority could ask for its modification. It is because ordinarily the theologians know little of criticism, and the critics know little of theology, whereas, since the object which each side should have in view is to get the ends to meet, it is most necessary that the (Catholic) critics should realize what so impresses the theologians, and the theologians should realize what so impresses the critics.

For the theologians who wish to understand the critics there is plenty of informing literature to be had, but for those critics who wish to understand the theologians there has been a dearth of satisfactory books. It is the chief merit of Father Christian Pesch's *De Inspiratione Sacrae Scripturae*, and one which

¹ *De Inspiratione Sacrae Scripturae*. Auctore Christian Pesch. Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder.

should secure for it a welcome from Catholic students, that it brings together a wealth of materials for the examination of the theological aspects of this point of Apologetics. The volume has two parts, one historical, the other dogmatic. In the former the author's aim is—by bringing together quotations from the Old Testament, from the Jewish writers, Palestinian and Hellenistic, from the New Testament and the Patristic writers—to make it clear that the doctrine of the divine authorship and of the consequent inerrancy of the inspired writings is not the mere outcome of scholastic discussions, but has its roots in the faith alike of Jew and Christian from the beginning onwards. This is a most important point, for it is just this that is wont to be overlooked by the newer school, and at the same time it is just this which explains the action of the Church authorities. They may, if the need is made clear to them, abandon purely scholastic conclusions which in former ages were deemed unassailable, but they will never surrender a single point of doctrine which has been handed down through the ages, and at all times accepted as a part of the faith once delivered.

In the historical part, however, Father Pesch does not confine himself to an exposition of the teaching of Fathers and theologians. He also gives a connected account of the various theories of Inspiration which have prevailed among the Protestants, or have been recently discussed among the Catholics before and after the Vatican Council. The chapter here which is of most interest is of course that which gives the Post-Vatican theories, namely that of limited Inspiration advocated by M. Lenormant and Mgr. d'Hulst, but rejected by the *Providentissimus Deus* in 1893, and that of "relative truth" which has come into vogue since the publication of that Papal Letter, and is associated with the names of Lagrange, Prat, Zanecchia, and others, and in a much more advanced form by Loisy. It will be conceded to the author that in this portion of his book he has given a perfectly fair account of theories which he does not accept, and has given them without any of those irritating displays of feeling which are what most tend to convert discussions into controversies.

The second part of Father Pesch's volume contains the theological discussions based on the above historical materials. It is in seven chapters, five of which run over ground on which previous writers of note have written copiously. Chapter iii.,

on the Extension of Inspiration, and particularly chapter iv., on the Inerrancy of Holy Scripture, are those which bear most on current controversies. In chapter iii. comes the question whether Inspiration extends in the same strict form to the precise wording as to the thoughts and statements (*res et sententiae*) of an inspired writing. Cardinal Franzelin is the best known advocate for the theory which answers this inquiry in the negative. He was led to make the distinction on the ground that the principle of divine authorship was sufficiently secured if the *res et sententiae* were dictated by the Holy Ghost, whilst if we may allow that the words proceeded more from the spontaneous action of the human author's mind, under only the safeguard of a special *assistentia*, we can obtain a principle of exception which will help to explain the idiosyncrasies of the writer's personal style. Since Franzelin's days a class of theologians has arisen who pronounce this theory to be a vivisection of the process of Inspiration, and moreover a vivisection which serves no purpose, since, when once we remember that God can control the exercise of the human writer's faculties by an internal process which yet does not suppress the spontaneity of their action, we have in this internal influence a principle able to explain at the same time both divine authorship and the human writer's personal mentality. Father Pesch holds by Franzelin's doctrine, and contends, as it seems to us successfully, that the charge of vivisection derives any appearance of force it may have rather from the dexterous use of an ill-sounding term than from any solid reality. On the other hand he allows, if we understand him, that if, as surely we must, we accept the hypothesis of a dictation by internal influence, this alone is able to account for everything; and so certainly it appears to ourselves. Is not Franzelin's distinction then superfluous?

In chapter iv. Father Pesch comes to the question of "implicit citations," the question, that is, whether it is possible to hold that the sacred writers—of the Old Testament particularly—in taking over their historical matter from earlier sources, as they must obviously have done when recording the events of times long anterior to their own, did not wish to make themselves responsible for the truth of all that was in those sources, but only of the substance of it, the substance including all that was to constitute the *propter se inspirata*. It is not quite clear to us whether Father Pesch does not take the advocates

of this theory of "implicit citation"—a misleading phrase for what should surely be called "compilation"—to limit the *propter se inspirata* much more than they mean to do, or at all events much more than they can reasonably expect to be allowed to do, especially after the recent decrees of the Biblical Commission. Nor, again, is it clear to us whether he realizes the extent to which, contrary to what even theologians like Franzelin have been disposed to think, revelation must have been required to support inspiration in regard to an infinity of minute facts which no one could consider to be *propter se inspirata*—that is, if the sacred writers must be held to have accepted responsibility for everything they took over from their sources. It is not, however, our intention in a short book review to discuss this knotty point. It is sufficient to indicate the character of Father Pesch's book, and recommend it particularly to those who incline to the theory of implicit citations, as one in which the subject is more searchingly discussed on the theological side than in any other book which has as yet appeared, and in which are set forth weighty arguments against the theory which will need to be carefully considered.

2.—WESTMINSTER LECTURES.¹

This year's batch of Westminster Lectures are now out, being published in the same form as those of last year which received so warm a welcome. We may anticipate a similar welcome for the new Series, and may hope they will prove to be a real aid to some of the many earnest inquirers who in the present confusion of thought are turning wistful eyes towards the Catholic Church, and asking for her solutions of the fundamental problems of human existence. Dr. Aveling opens the set with a lecture on *Science and Faith*, in which, after noting the distinction between the ancient and the modern conceptions of "science," and the essentially experimental character of the latter, he contends that, whenever a position really inconsistent with the doctrines of faith is claimed in the name of science, it proves on examination to be claimed not as the result of

¹ *Westminster Lectures*. Second Series. Edited by the Rev. Francis Aveling, D.D. 1. *Science and Faith*; 2. *The Higher Criticism*; 3. *The Divinity of Christ*; 4. *The Secret of the Cell*; 5. *Evil, its Nature and Cause*; 6. *Miracles*. London: Sands and Co. Sixpence net, each.

observation, hypothesis, and verification, but of inferences belonging to the domain of metaphysics, not science. This, indeed, is not in itself adverse to its validity, but it should not be forgotten that, when the scientist thus travels beyond his own province, he leaves behind him the authority attaching to his pronouncements within it. And as a matter of fact the conclusions reached by scientific men in the field of metaphysics are as disputable as those reached by them in the field of science are convincing. In his treatment of this important point Dr. Aveling gives his readers some stiff reading, but if they master it it will repay their endeavours.

In his Lecture on *Evil*, Father Sharpe attacks a subject which is confessedly one of the most difficult for a thinker to grapple with. He treats it in a way of his own, and his essay is suggestive and contains much that is valuable. But it is to be feared that the class who are most exercised by the problem of evil will not find him satisfying. They will find in some of his contentions some particularly "hard sayings."

Father Joseph Rickaby's *Divinity of Christ* will be the easiest to follow of the lectures in this Series. It develops the argument for our Lord's Divinity, *Si non Deus non bonus*—"If He was not God He was not good." This is undoubtedly the best way of bringing home the Divinity of Christ to those who are prepared to accept the Gospels, at least as giving a substantially true delineation of the Personality of Christ; and it was well to have an exposition of it in the Series.

Dr. Marsh's lecture on *Miracles* was listened to with much interest, especially for its latter part, in which he gives and discusses the facts of the cure of de Rudder at the Belgian Lourdes in 1875, and of Marie Lemarchand at Lourdes itself in 1892. In both these miracles the cures were effected suddenly, proved durable, and besides were clearly beyond the scope of suggestion or hypnotism. They were, in fact, miracles of the first class, and were attested in the most conclusive manner. The cure of Marie Lemarchand is also specially interesting because it is one which Zola personally witnessed, but most culpably misrepresented in the novel into which he introduced her under the name of Elise Roquet.

Those who would find fault with Dr. Barry for conceding too much to the Higher Criticism as it is now in vogue, should remember how trying was the task confided to him, of vindicating the Catholic veneration for the Bible before an audience

largely composed of unbelievers, or at least of those who, whether willingly or reluctantly, had received the impression that the doctrine of Inspiration is hopelessly impossible. Dr. Barry deals with four questions concerning the Sacred Books, those of authorship, of the method of compilation from the sources, of the attitude of a sacred writer to the statements on matters scientific and historical which he takes over from his sources, and of the ethical problems arising from Divine permission and commands. That these questions are ably handled, on the lines of Père Lagrange's theory, is only what was to be expected from the author, but one feels as one reads that it is almost impossible, in the summary style essential to a lecture, to treat satisfactorily questions where all turns on the minute discussion of an infinity of detailed points.

We have left to the last place Dr. Windle's *Secret of the Cell*, because, as coming from one whose words carry weight on a biological subject, it has an importance beyond that of the other lectures of the Series. Is the living organism a mere machine, and are its operations the sum of processes, chemical and physical, which take place in its interior, or is there something over? In other words, does the course of biological investigation tend to show that the purely mechanical explanation of the phenomena of life is forced upon us, or is there room or need for the theory of a principle of life? In Huxley's days it was the fashion to scout the bare notion of the mechanical explanation being insufficient, and Schwann, the discoverer of the Cell, thought that by his discovery he had entirely overthrown vitalistic theories. Now-a-days we are told by Professor Wilson, the great authority on cell-life, that this study "has on the whole seemed to widen rather than to narrow the enormous gap that separates even the lowest forms of life from the inorganic world." Dr. Windle explains to us the facts on which this judgment of Professor Wilson turns, and ranges himself on the same side as Professor Wilson, whilst at the same time showing how many of his scientific colleagues are tending in the same direction.

3.—LA RENAISSANCE CATHOLIQUE EN ANGLETERRE.¹

With a third volume, embracing the period from the death of Wiseman to the death of Manning (1865—1892), M. Thureau-Dangin completes his interesting study of that Catholic Renaissance which in this country has been the outcome of the Oxford Movement. As he observes, this Movement, though in its commencement it was a movement exclusively within the Anglican Church, in its subsequent course divided off into two separate streams, one ministering (though by no means as the chief factor) to the expansion of English Catholicism, properly so called, the other to the Catholicizing of the Anglican Church itself. Hence the necessity of studying separately these two separate streams, in which the author found himself even in his second volume, becomes still more imperative in this further volume. Accordingly, we have here first five chapters on the history of English Catholicism from the death of Wiseman to the death of Manning, and then four on the history of Anglicanism from the time when Tractarianism passed into Ritualism to the time of Archbishop Benson's Judgment in the Lincoln case. This assignment of a concluding date for the study was obviously just in the case of Catholicism, for the heroic stage of its modern revival was wrought out under the leaderships of Wiseman, Manning, and Newman, whilst the Lincoln Judgment of 1890, confirmed on Appeal by the Judicial Committee in 1892, is taken by M. Thureau-Dangin to have been an authoritative sanction for the Ritualists of the legality of their position, in its substantials, within the Anglican fold.

The period thus assigned includes some stirring episodes. On the Catholic side it brings before us the effect produced by the publication of the Eirenicon, the Movement ending for the time in failure for enabling Catholic students to go to Oxford and Cambridge, the Vatican Council, Newman's Cardinalate, Manning's intervention in social work, and in regard to each of these movements the development of a certain divergency of views and feelings between the two surviving leaders. On the Anglican side it brings before us the rise of Ritualism in the sixties; the Ritualistic prosecutions—persecutions, he calls them—under Tait, and the latter's part in them, and the Lincoln Judgment. The same artistic sense and literary skill in

¹ *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au XIX^e Siècle.* Troisième Partie. Par Paul Thureau-Dangin, de l'Académie Française. Paris: Librairie Plon.

presenting the picture is appreciable in this as in the preceding volumes, and imparts to the whole history a truly dramatic character. There is, too, the same accuracy, so remarkable in a foreigner, in appreciating the purport and significance of the history, not only in its general direction, but even in its details and complications. We have acknowledged to this in notices of the previous volumes, but wish to repeat the acknowledgment here lest we should seem to lay too much stress on a few matters in which M. Thureau-Dangin has perhaps not been quite so successful in his estimates.

In the first place, he allows the two impressive personalities of Newman and Manning to overshadow the history. Far be it from any of us to undervalue the services of these two leaders, especially of the former, who conferred on the nascent Church an incalculable benefit by laying such splendid foundations for its Catholic literature. Still, the growth of Catholicism during all those years was not all the work of Newman and Manning. A multitude of other workers were toiling with zeal and enterprise in their several spheres, living down prejudices, winning respect and often even admiration by their simple lives and pastoral devotedness, and it is to their combined efforts quite as much as, indeed much more than, to the more dazzling achievements of one or two leaders, that the steady and solid advance of Catholicism, and the gathering in of so many converts, has been due. It is, too, the author's failure to observe this element in the history which accounts for a misapprehension in his estimate of the loss sustained by English Catholicism when its two grand leaders were removed by death. He regards the present condition of the renaissance movement to be one of suspended vitality.

True, an epoch then terminated, the epoch of laying the foundations over which Wiseman, Manning, and Newman presided, but in which many others laboured independently. Still, the epoch of building up the superstructure into which the previous epoch passed imperceptibly has experienced no suspension or diminution of vitality, but on the contrary has been marked all through by a most consoling vigour of growth. And the result is that the Catholic Church is now far more solidly established in the country than she was when, a decade and a half ago, Newman and Manning were taken from her. Her institutions are more extended and developed, her leakage towards indifferentism, if still very insufficiently controlled, is

much better controlled than it was, her poor are better cared for, her people—according to their various degrees—are better educated, they have found much more of a corporate consciousness, of voice to make known their claims and power to make them heeded. Moreover, they have achieved this happy result, that they are now as a religious body very widely respected and admired, and regarded with sympathy and even with an amiable envy. M. Thureau-Dangin repeats what one sometimes hears said, especially by non-Catholic writers, namely, that the influx of converts into the Church, though it continues in a steady stream, is of an inferior quality to that which characterized the heroic age of our Renaissance. But it may be doubted if this is a correct estimate. Newman and Manning were *hors ligne*. Take them away and it is difficult to see where the difference lies between what goes on now and what went on then in the quality of those who come to us. They may not be leaders of fashion, but they are of a very goodly quality, as may be felt as one looks at the results in so many Catholic congregations throughout the kingdom. We may not either now or then have gained over many leaders of thought, but it must be remembered that, in a country like this, to be a leader of thought means to have undergone a mental development on lines widely diverse from those of Catholic thought—since to be a leader one must get a hearing, and in a country like this a hearing is granted only to minds of a certain type of thought and opinion. On the other hand, we can claim that there are not a few leaders of thought who, if unable to see their way to the acceptance of Catholic doctrine, particularly to Catholic doctrine on Biblical Inspiration, recognize ours as the one type of religious creed which is capable of surviving, and at least wish they could believe in it. All this we set down to the credit of our Catholic renaissance, for we are not so possessed, as our French friends imagine, with the passion for making converts, but are content to take those whom God sends us, and from whence He sends them to us (which is not only or chiefly from Ritualism); and meanwhile to go on in our own way, improving and developing our Catholic life as best we may, whilst also striving to work in common with the believers among our fellow-countrymen in all fields of well-doing, intellectual and social, according to our growing opportunities.

In the second part of his volume M. Thureau-Dangin, in that sympathy for the Ritualists in which we may join him, is

rather unfair to their adversaries in the National Church. To the Church Association people, indeed, it would be difficult to be unfair. There is little in them to command respect, or which does command the respect of the country. But as regards persons like Archbishop Tait it is different. M. Thureau-Dangin, always anxious to be fair, gives him credit for his good intentions, but regards him as one who, urged only by his Protestant prejudices, embarked on a perfectly needless campaign of persecution against a class of ecclesiastics to whose spirituality and devotedness he bore cordial testimony. But to put it thus is to leave important considerations out of account. The Ritualists were endeavouring to restore ancient Catholic practices, but they were unquestionably violating the laws of their Church as determined by the Tudor settlement. And how could an Archbishop of Canterbury, on whom most of all rested the responsibility for the maintenance of ecclesiastical order, see all this disobedience going on under his eyes, and not feel himself bound to deal with it? To us it seems that Tait's position was the most pathetic of all in that age of prosecutions, and that he displayed a really noble spirit in his efforts to deal with it—in his warm-hearted appreciation of all that was good in the offenders, in his earnest appeals to them in the name of unity and brotherhood, and in his recourse from sheer sense of duty to the method of prosecutions which he hated with all his heart.

To go back for a moment to Manning, not indeed to the general question whether the volume before us has been quite just to his career as a whole, but to one particular point in it in recounting which M. Thureau-Dangin has been misled by Mr. Purcell, to the grave injury of Manning's reputation. It is suggested that when Newman, having been notified of the intention to make him a Cardinal, entrusted Manning with a delicately-worded letter indicating the difficulty he would find in a residence at Rome, Manning did not hesitate to open it before it reached its destination, before even he had himself left London, and having been guilty of this gross impropriety, to communicate to the papers a misleading account of its contents. A mere reference to the columns of the *Tablet* of the few weeks in question, is enough to show that the communication to the papers did not take place till after Manning had reached Rome, and delivered the letter. What this means is that there was no ground for crediting Manning with this communication to the papers.

4.—DEVELOPMENT AND DIVINE PURPOSE.¹

In 1904 Dr. Stanton, of Cambridge, provided funds for a Lectureship in the Philosophy of Religion, which the University willingly accepted. Mr. Vernon Storr's *Development and Divine Purpose*, now before us for review, contains the first course of lectures delivered on this foundation. They deal with the relation of Development to Purpose.

The two ideas of Purpose and Development [says the author] are closely connected in the thought of this generation. The question which we are all asking is, What is the meaning, and what are the essential implications of the idea of development or growth? Will development prove, on analysis, to be a teleological conception, or can we interpret it without any relation to the idea of purpose?

The main point of view under which the author approaches this inquiry is that of the Argument from Design for the existence of God. In an age when fixity of species and special creation were universally acknowledged, Paley's working out of this argument seemed irresistible. Now that evolution is held to pervade the universe, and we are warned that, if an organ like the eye, for instance, is so constructed as to enable its possessor to see, we are no longer to infer that it was constructed for this purpose, but rather that out of an indefinite number of other structures it alone persisted because it happened to be capable of seeing—the mind asks if Paley's argument, which was not Paley's only, can any longer be sustained? Mr. Storr is one of those who are prepared to allow that there are flaws in Paley's argument, but thinks it can be restated in a form in which it can parry the objections of the Evolutionist. It argues from special instances which it ascribes to contrivance, whereas the Darwinian undertakes to show that they may be the outcome of a slow but progressive series of improvements under the threefold influence of indefinite variability, of heredity, and the struggle for existence. It credits the divine Designer with a mode of activity too like the activity of a man who works from outside the designed object, and under limitations imposed by the materials employed. And it assumes, as just observed, the fixity and special creation of species.

The author discusses minutely each of these objections, and

¹ *Development and Divine Purpose.* By Vernon F. Storr, M.A. London: Methuen and Co.

in so doing submits the whole subject of development and its relation to design to a very searching analysis. Still, while grateful to him for this contribution to the literature of an important subject, we cannot but feel that there was a shorter cut to the same conclusions. No doubt the main contention of Darwinism, the contention that the adaptations in nature are such, not because they were specially devised, but because out of the indefinite number of possible collocations those involving adaptations are alone capable of subsisting is, if sound, altogether destructive of teleological theories. But it is only an utterly improbable guess, which in no sense follows from the array of established facts, and it is really just its possibility which our ineradicable belief in teleology disallows. As a pure possibility it might be urged just as much against Paley's assumption that the watch was designed—for, as he postulates that the finder had never seen a watch before, the argument from past experience does not enter in. But in the case of the watch any reasonable man would put this alternative suggestion aside at once as unworthy of consideration. And by parity of reasoning we are surely entitled to do the same in seeking to explain the adaptations of organic life. Yet if this is so, does it not follow at once that Paley's argument is as valid now as ever, the difference of his statement from that which we should give now-a-days relating only to non-essentials. In two other points it seems to us that Paley's argument is censured merely because it is misunderstood. The word "contrivance" was a natural word for him to use, but it is manifest that he meant by it not the endeavour to subdue and utilize refractory materials which is what oftentimes compels men to adapt means to ends, but simply and solely the adaptation of means to ends, which we ourselves frequently regard as of a higher order than the obtaining of the same ends by our own direct action—as, for instance, to take a very elementary case, a child prefers a toy train provided with machinery by which it can move itself rather than one which he has to set himself in the desired place. And again as regards "immanence" by what right is it assumed that Paley's idea of Divine causality resembled that of a man who builds a house which when built is able to stand without his further assistance, rather than of a man who places a stone at a certain altitude and keeps it there by continuing to support it with his hands?

5.—AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.¹

All things considered, it would be hard, we fancy, to find a more satisfactory collection of school sermons than those which Father Lucas has recently printed under the title of *The Parting of the Ways*. Such efforts too often show a marked tendency to degenerate, and the series published a year ago as *The Morning of Life* was so excellent that we were rather afraid of finding a certain amount of repetition and some measure of staleness about the volume before us. But thanks evidently to careful preparation and a judicious selection of themes, we are conscious of no falling off, while the sterling qualities conspicuous in the first series of discourses impress us if possible more strongly now than before. The tone of the preacher is always sane. The motives appealed to are those which tend to strengthen character and deepen sound principles. There is, moreover, a clearly discernible effort to interest his juvenile audience in topics which most assuredly ought not to be entirely passed over in school sermons, but which often in point of fact do get neglected. We might refer to the sermon on Dr. Barnardo and "Our destitute Children," or to that on "the Education Peril," as illustrations of what we mean. Occasionally we think that the presentment of the thought is perhaps a little too formal and academic for the audience to which it was addressed, but no doubt in actual delivery any traces of stiffness and artificiality would have been corrected. On the other hand the absence of all puerilities and the thoroughly grown-up manner which the preacher, as we think wisely, has uniformly assumed, are likely to render the book most useful to others besides schoolboys. Many of the discourses might be quoted as admirable models of the ordinary parochial sermon, and the greater part of the book would be quite as well suited to girls of fifteen or sixteen and upwards as to their brothers. It is hard to make a selection where all seems so excellent, but we believe that some of the best work is to be found in such sermons as "The Unknown Guest," or "The Scapular, a Reminder of Death." The book contains some thirty-six sermons in all. This is a good fair allowance for the school year. Few boys would be the better for trying to assimilate any more spiritual pabulum in one twelvemonth than this book affords.

¹ *At the Parting of the Ways. Considerations and Meditations for Boys.* By Herbert Lucas, S.J. Edinburgh: Sands and Co. 1906.

6.—THE BOOK OF ENOCH.¹

We welcome this volume even more cordially for its promise of the future than for the work in itself, excellent as it is in every respect. The Apocryphal literature of the Old and New Testament has only of late years come to be appreciated at its true value. The study of apocryphal documents must necessarily underlie any serious investigation of the problems of the Higher Criticism, and as we cannot all become masters of such out-of-the-way tongues as Æthiopic, Armenian, and Coptic, we have reason to be grateful to the expert who will so far put his laboriously acquired knowledge at our service as to enable us, not only to read the text, but to appreciate the bearing, force, and difficulties of what we read. This is the aim of the series of *Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament*, which those enterprising publishers, MM. Letouzey and Ané, have inaugurated under the editorship of M. François Martin, Professor at the Institut Catholique de Paris. If we may take the present instalment as representative of what is to follow, the method adopted is thorough and scientific. The book is entirely in French. The French translation is printed as text, but variant MS. readings of the original, where they are of sufficient importance to modify the sense, are carefully indicated, and there is a supply of brief but sufficient notes at the foot of the page. Not the least valuable portion of the work is the elaborate Introduction which, taken together with an ample Bibliography, occupies 150 pages out of the 470 of which the book consists. It cannot of course be said that the Book of Enoch has been neglected of late years. The task of the modern editor has been made comparatively easy by the works of Charles, Flemming, and Radermacher; but it is in every way convenient to have a version prepared by a competent Catholic scholar, and especially one which is so admirably equipped with Analysis, Notes, and Index as the volume before us. Moreover, as we began by saying, the book is especially welcome in its promise for the future. Though the series of New Testament has not yet apparently been organized, it is evidently in contemplation, and we venture to prophesy an even more encouraging reception for the early Christian documents than for those of Semitic antiquity.

¹ *Le Livre d'Hénoch* traduit sur le texte Éthiopien par François Martin (Documents pour l'Étude de la Bible, vol. i.). Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906.

7.—OUTLINES OF BRITISH HISTORY.¹

At this time of the year those in charge of our secondary schools are providing themselves with school books for use after the summer vacation. Opportunely comes Mr. Wyatt Davies's *Outlines of British History*, as will be felt by those who have had experience of his *History of England for Catholic Schools*. His *Outlines* is a smaller work, and is intended for the junior classes, in whose interest it is enriched with a number of illustrations, many of which will be found helpful for enabling young readers to picture to themselves the ways of the past. We have nothing but praise for this school book, which is in a simple style which the children can follow, and will excite their interest without catering for it by digression from the straight path of the information to be conveyed. The part at the commencement about the various early races which inhabited the island is particularly well told, and yet was not so easy to tell clearly. In a short Preface the author reminds his readers of the sense in which a history book is said to be for Catholic schools. It makes a point of calling attention to "the meaning to Catholics of those events in which religious influences have played a predominant part."

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

FATHER COUPE'S *Lectures on the Holy Eucharist* (Washbourne) are his in the sense that he delivered them, but they are gathered from the reports in the papers by Mr. Hatherley Moore, who with Father Coupe's leave has arranged them in their present form and added some footnotes. They contain simple expositions of the Scriptural, Liturgical, and Patristic proofs of the Holy Eucharist as a Sacrament and a Sacrifice, together with examinations of some of the objections urged against the doctrine in the name of history, philosophy, and science, as that Transubstantiation is a term not found in the early Fathers, that it is opposed to the impenetrability of matter, that it involves the absurdity of multilocation. These lectures form a useful book for the instruction of an educated convert.

¹ *Outlines of British History for Catholic Schools.* By E. Wyatt Davies, M.A. With Illustrations. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1906.

Mr. J. R. Willington has done good service by publishing *Catholicism in Leamington*. (Leamington Catholic Repository.) "In 1822 there was but a handful of Catholics in the place; no church, no resident priest, no Catholic school. In 1906 there is a handsome church, with three resident priests and a congregation numbering between eleven and twelve hundred souls." Educational needs are met by two communities of nuns; while "the boys, nearly a hundred in number, attend their separate school." This striking progress has not been made without hard work and self-sacrifice, and the pages under review preserve to memory the names and deeds of those into whose labours the Leamington Catholics of to-day have entered.

There exists in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla a fresco of our Lady and the Divine Child, which according to competent critics dates back to the first century of our era. A copy of this fresco has been made, and under the title *Queen of Prophets*, is honoured in the church of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God in Rome. The pamphlet that lies before us (*Our Lady Queen of Prophets*. Burns and Oates) gives the history of this shrine, and tells how at that spot constant intercession is made for the conversion of England.

We cannot honestly call the *Life of St. Columba*, by Mr. Samuel Keyworth (Burns and Oates, 2s. 6d.), a satisfactory biography. The writer seems somewhat given to talking *round* rather than *on* the theme proposed. There are long dissertations on subjects connected with the Celtic Church; while important events in the life of the Saint are but briefly alluded to or dismissed in a sentence.

We are in receipt of a volume of *Poems by George Crabbe*, Vol. II., edited by the Master of Peterhouse for the *Cambridge English Classics* Series. The volume in question contains the *Tales* (twenty-one in number), and *Tales of the Hall*; which latter filled Cardinal Newman with "extreme delight," when he read them on their first appearance, touched him even more when he re-read them thirty years later, and after a further lapse of twenty years still retained their charm.

In the same collection of *English Classics* we have Vols II. and III. of Beaumont and Fletcher, edited by Mr. A. R. Waller, M.A. Beaumont and Fletcher are synonymous for strong meat. Amid scenes of vigorous dramatic action and flights of the highest poetic fancy, we come upon episodes and incidents set forth in language which can only be described as outrageous for its indecency and coarseness.

II.—MAGAZINES.

Some contents of foreign Periodicals :

REVUE BÉNÉDICTINE. (III.)

Priscilian, the author of the Monarchian Prologues to the Vulgate Gospels. *J. Chapman.* *Studia Cæsariana.* *G. Morin.* Conrad of Urach, Legate. *A. Clément.* Writings attributed to Hippolytus. *D. De Bruyne.* St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom. *C. Baur.* Reviews, &c.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KATHOLISCHE THEOLOGIE. (III.)

The Summoning of Councils. *C. A. Kneller.* Duns Scotus on the Immaculate Conception. *M. Biehl.* Festival Sermons at the close of the Middle Ages. *H. Siebert.* Moral Legislation and Facts. *F. Krus.* Reviews, &c.

RAZON Y FE. (July.)

The Anarchist Outrage at Madrid. A Life Portrait of Father General Martin. *A. Perez.* The Historical Character of the Hexateuch. *J. de Abadal.* One Catechism for Spain. *J. M. Solá.* Homeless Spaniards and the Jewish Question. *E. Ugarte de Ercilla.* Reviews, &c.

DER KATHOLIK. (1906, V.)

Historical Religion. The Church as represented in recent historical Text-Books. Church and State 100 years ago. The Church History of the Middle Rhine. Reviews, &c.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA. (July 7 and 21.)

Evolution in the Catholic Church. Our Four Gospels. The Apostolic Secretariate (1681). Lourdes and Rome. Catholic University Students. Anti-clerical Prejudice in Italy. The Treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum (with illustrations). The Moral Duty of Benevolence. A step forward in the Dogma-and-Bible Controversy. Napoleon and Pius VII. Reviews, &c.

REVUE AUGUSTINIENNE. (July.)

Probabilism and the Holy Office. *F. Blachère.* The Canon Law of the Future. *H. Giry.* The Canonical Obedience of Clerics. *A. Dossat.* Notes on the Theology of the Russian Church. *L. Baurain.* Reviews, &c.

ANNALES DE PHILOSOPHIE CHRÉTIENNE. (July.)

Lex Credendi. *G. Tyrrell.* The Thermodynamic and the Atomic Theory. *R. d'Adhémar.* Religious Feeling and Knowledge. *O. Habert.* How the History of Philosophy must be treated. *F. Mentré.* Reviews, &c.

